

Changing Perceptions

Stigma and
Social Housing
in Ireland



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Foreword

This research is the fifth study funded by the Adrian Norridge Housing Research Bursary, established in honour of the founder of Clúid Housing. Clúid Housing is an independent not-for-profit charity that develops and provides high quality affordable housing for people who cannot afford to buy their own home or pay for private rented housing. Clúid currently (March 2017) owns or manages nearly 6,000 homes across the country.

The issue of stigma in social housing is one that Clúid tenants and staff encounter every day. It manifests itself in the expressed views of some people (although by no means all) when they hear about plans for social housing in their neighbourhood; and the views of some developers when they discuss the merits or demerits of Part V of the Planning and Development Acts (whereby a percentage of all new housing developments can be reserved for social housing). In addition the media sometimes perpetuates negative stereotypes associated with social housing. Of course a further manifestation of stigma is tenants' own experiences, through their interaction with neighbours, work colleagues and others. Stigma has been a feature of social housing for many years.

However, it is very important to emphasise that the problem is far from being a universal phenomenon. Tenants in many social housing estates do not feel stigmatised as a consequence of living in social housing; they identify strongly with their neighbourhood and feel a strong sense of pride in their community.

That being said, it is clear that where people feel stigmatised through living in social housing, the effects of this stigmatisation can be acute and have a significant impact on their lives.

However, we hesitated before deciding to commission research on this topic. First, we knew that it would be a difficult topic to research. It is a sensitive area, and getting worthwhile interviews with stakeholders might not be easy. Second, we were concerned that by drawing attention to the existence of stigma in social housing, we would end up reinforcing the very thing we were trying to challenge. But, we felt that the risks were worth taking, and we will develop a strategy for tackling stigma on foot of the research, which we hope will address the second issue.

In all of this we were greatly assisted by the quality of the research carried out, and we are extremely grateful to Michelle Norris, Michael Byrne and Anna Carnegie who tackled this difficult subject with determination, rigour and sensitivity. As well as being very illuminating, the research report provides an excellent platform on which to base a practical strategy for tackling stigma in social housing.

Simon Brooke
Head of Policy
Clúid Housing

I. Introduction

A strong body of evidence suggests that stigma is a problem for some social housing neighbourhoods in Ireland and abroad. Research on these neighbourhoods indicates they are often portrayed negatively and unfairly in the media, for example through the conflation of anti-social behaviour on the part of a small proportion of residents with the characteristics of all residents (Devereux *et al*, 2011; Fahey, 1999). There is also evidence that the stigmatisation of the entire social housing sector has increased in recent years due to the contraction of the tenure in Ireland and the UK in particular and its related “residualisation”, ie the increased focus on housing low income and marginalised groups. The experience of social housing managers and residents supports the view that stigmatisation of social housing can be a problem (Corcoran, 2014). Their concerns are reflected in the fact that strategies for the regeneration of unpopular social housing neighbourhoods often highlight stigma as a factor which has precipitated the target neighbourhood’s decline and identify improving its public image as one of their key objectives (Dean & Hastings, 2000).

Stigmatisation of social housing, however, is a complex problem and many aspects of this phenomenon remain poorly understood. There is strong evidence from other European countries that this problem operates in an uneven fashion. Some social rented estates have a very positive public image while others are very stigmatised and in many countries local government provided social housing is more stigmatised than that provided by the non-profit sector (McCormick *et al*, 2012; Arthurson, 2013). There is little evidence as to whether stigmatisation operates in the same way in Ireland, however. To date, the impact of stigma in the social housing sector has been the subject of relatively limited research, particularly in the Irish context. Although regeneration strategies often aim

to combat stigma they rarely include detailed strategies to achieve this goal. Furthermore, the effectiveness of measures to destigmatise social housing has not been well researched in Ireland and the international evidence indicates these measures have yielded mixed results (McCormick *et al*, 2012; Arthurson, 2013).

This report aims to address these shortcomings in the evidence base regarding stigma and social housing. By analysing the extent, causes, perceptions and implications of stigma in Irish social housing estates and assessing the effectiveness of the strategies which aim to combat stigma, the research furthers understanding of stigmatisation in different social housing sectors in Ireland and offers recommendations for policy and practice interventions to combat stigma. Thus, this study examines stigma in local authority provided social housing (which encompasses approximately 70 per cent of social housing in Ireland) and social housing provided by housing associations (the independent not-for-profit charities that mainly provide social housing for people registered on local authority housing waiting lists and are sometimes known as approved housing bodies or voluntary housing bodies). This study uses a mix of different research methods to gain a comprehensive overview of the various dimensions of stigma in the Irish social housing system. These include: a review of the research literature on the nature of, and responses to, stigma in social housing; an analysis of large-scale survey data to measure the potential for or likelihood of stigmatisation and case studies of efforts to combat stigma in three social rented neighbourhoods in Dublin (Ballymun, Fatima Mansions and Clarion Quay).

This report is organised into six sections. The next section sets out the research design and methodology as well as the key features of the

case study neighbourhoods. This is followed by a review of the Irish and international literature on the nature, extent, causes and implications of stigma in social housing and examination of theories of stigma. Section 4 profiles the socio-economic characteristics of social housing tenants in Ireland and is intended to assess the extent to which social housing accommodates populations likely to experience stigma, such as low-income, black and minority ethnic and other marginalised groups and whether the proportion of social housing tenants in these categories has increased since the global financial crisis which began in 2007-08. Section 5 examines the literature on combating stigmatisation of social housing and is intended to identify the most effective solutions in this regard and the interventions most appropriate for different types of social rented neighbourhoods. Section 6 examines the interventions to address stigma implemented in the three case

study estates. The report's final section sets out a cross-cutting analysis of key findings of the preceding discussion and implications for social housing policy and practice.

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2. Research Methods

A number of research methods were employed in the implementation of this research project. Firstly, comprehensive reviews of the academic and policy literature on the extent and impact of stigma in social housing and on solutions to this problem were conducted. Secondly, survey data on the socio-economic characteristics of social housing tenants in Ireland was analysed to assess the extent to which social housing accommodates populations likely to experience stigma, such as low-income, black and minority ethnic and other marginalised groups. These data were generated from the 2009 and 2013 results of the Irish module of the European Union Survey of Income and Living Conditions (EU-SILC). This is a survey of households in EU member-states, EU candidate countries and Norway. In the case of the Irish module most data are collected via face-to-face interviews and the sample size varies between 5,000 and 6,000 households (in 2014 it included 5,486 households and 14,078 individuals) (Central Statistics Office, 2014). The EU-SILC results for 2009 and 2014 were compared to identify whether the proportion of social renting tenants likely to experience stigma has increased or decreased in recent years and in particular since the global economic crisis began in 2007-08. Thirdly, case studies of the measures used to combat stigma in three social housing estates in Dublin were conducted (these are discussed in more depth below). Fourthly, a cross-cutting analysis was conducted of the issues raised in the literature review, survey data analysis and case study research.

The key features of the case study estates examined here – Fatima Mansions, Ballymun and Clarion Quay – are outlined in Table 1. These estates were selected because the most commonly used measures to combat stigma identified in the literature review were implemented there. Therefore they provide an opportunity to assess the effectiveness of these solutions in the Irish context. These measures to combat stigma are:

- > Social mixing: is usually achieved through mixing different income/tenure groups (e.g. social rented, owner-occupier, private rented, shared ownership) in traditionally social housing-dominant developments and/or mixing local authority and housing association provided social housing. Therefore in practice social mixing in Ireland usually means tenure mixing.
- > Built environment solutions: often consist of dwelling design measures intended to increase the neighborhood's "permeability" to non-residents and other design features implemented during the initial construction or the regeneration of social housing estate.
- > Public image change strategies and media campaigns: generally implemented during regeneration projects and involve efforts to publicise the neighbourhood's positive characteristics. In two of the case study estates image change interventions also included use of arts and culture to combat stigma and increase residents' pride in their neighbourhood.

Two of the three case study estates have been subject to very extensive regeneration programmes in recent years as part of which social mixing, built environment and image change strategies have been applied to these neighbourhoods to combat stigma. In Ballymun, this involved demolishing seven high-rise tower blocks which previously dominated the estate and their replacement with houses and low-rise apartments organised into four, mainly social rented, neighbourhoods. The regeneration also involved redevelopment of Ballymun main street which previously was a four-lane main road cutting the estate in two, but now includes a flagship cultural and community space, called the Axis Centre (containing a theatre, café, dance studio, office space and crèche), as well as shops and hotels.



Table 1
Characteristics of the
Case Study Estates

	Ballymun	Clarion Quay	Fatima Mansions
Year of construction	1966-1969	2002	1949
Location	Outer suburb on the northside of Dublin's city centre.	Dublin's inner city docklands area regenerated by Dublin Docklands Development Authority (DDDA).	Rialto district in Dublin's south inner-city.
Original Design	A mix of 15-, 8- and 4-storey apartment blocks and standard housing units.	10 blocks of 4-storey apartment blocks organised around a green area and facing onto the River Liffey. It includes 4 one-bed, 18 two-bed and 14 three-bedroom apartments.	4-storey apartment blocks.
Current Design	A mix of 2-, 3- and 4-storey houses and apartments, leisure facilities, retail outlets and an arts and community centre.	Same as above	Mix of 4-storey apartments, terraced houses and maisonettes, retail, offices and a sports and community centre.
Number and Tenure of Dwellings Originally Provided	3,237 dwellings all public rented (from local government).	185 dwellings of which 37 are housing association rented. The remainder were sold on the open market and 50% of these are privately rented.	394 dwellings all public rented (from local government).
Number and Tenure of Dwellings Currently Provided	Rebuilt from 1998-2014 currently 60% public rented, 26% owner occupied, 12% private rented and 2% rented from non-profit housing associations.	Same as above	Rebuilt in 2007 to include 180 public rented dwellings, 70 "affordable" dwellings (sold at below market value) and 396 private dwellings (sold on the open market).

To encourage tenure mixing the main street also includes private housing developments (mainly apartments) the purchase of which was tax incentivised via the Section 23 urban renewal programme. However, the regeneration programme is behind schedule and is incomplete at time of writing. Fatima Mansions' redevelopment also involved demolishing existing local authority provided social housing units (four-storey flats built in the 1950s) and their replacement with houses and low-rise apartment blocks as part of a mixed-use mixed-tenure development. The estate's private section was renamed Herberton following redevelopment while the Dublin City Council owned social rented section retained the name Fatima Mansions. The estate was also redesigned to encourage the residents of adjacent neighbourhoods to walk through the estate and use the facilities there and a new gym, crèche and community facility were provided (called the F2 Centre) as well as a community café.

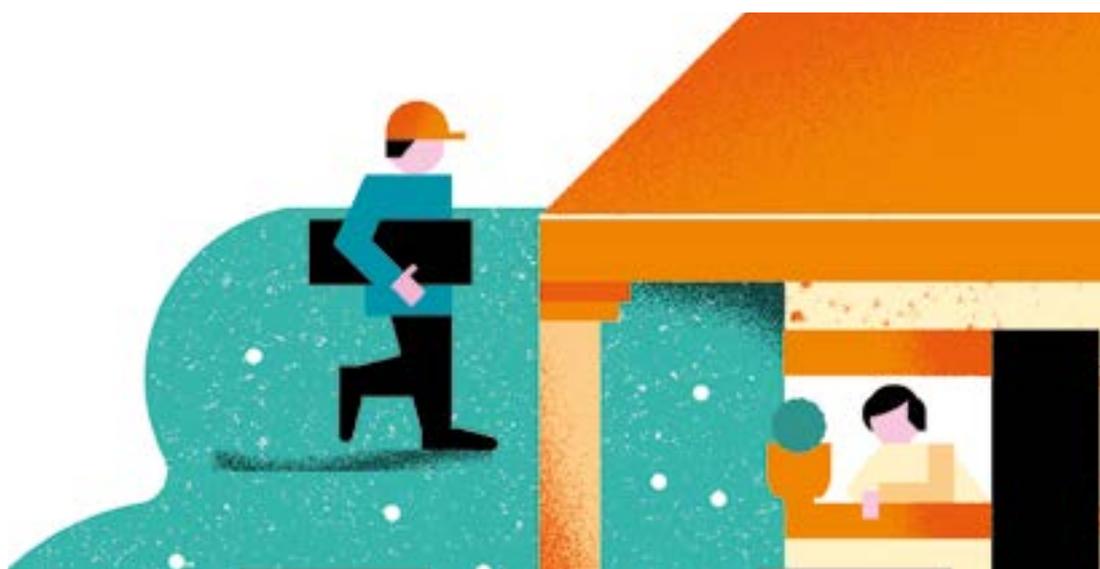
Clarion Quay by contrast was constructed as a mixed tenure development. It is located in what was the operational area Dublin Docklands Development Authority's (DDDA) which, as its name suggests, was established to regenerate Dublin's former docklands. The DDDA adopted a policy that 20 per cent of all new and refurbished residential developments in its operational area would be reserved for social housing and under the auspices of this provision that tenure mixing was applied to Clarion Quay. During its construction in 2002 two blocks of apartments (containing 37 units) were purchased by Clúid Housing for letting as social housing, the remaining eight apartment blocks in the estate (containing 148 dwellings) were sold on the open market for top end prices at the time and about half these were owner occupied at time of writing, while the remainder were private rented (see Table 1 in this section) (Norris, 2006).

Details of the number of people interviewed in each case study estate and their background (interviewees included residents, social housing managers and community development workers primarily) are provided in Table 2 below. The schedule of questions used to guide these in-depth, semi-structured interviews is provided in Appendix 1 to this report. In addition to these interviews a full review of the literature on the case study estates was conducted which included: research conducted on the estates, regeneration plans, information on social and community services and groups operating in the area and project evaluations (if available).

Table 2
Interviews Conducted in the Case Study Estates

Category of Interviewee		Ballymun	Clarion Quay	Fatima Mansions
Community Development Workers (Paid)		4	N/a	1
Community Group Activists (Volunteers)		1	N/a	0
Private Renting Tenants		0	4	1
Social Housing Managers		1	0*	1
Social Housing Tenants	Housing Association	2	4	1
	Local Authority	8	N/a	1

Note: n/a means not applicable and refers to the fact that some categories of interviewees did not live or work in some of the case study estates and therefore could not be included in this aspect of the research. *: a social housing manager involved in the Clarion Quay estate was interviewed but only informally by telephone.



3. Understanding Stigma and its Impact on Social Housing

3.1 Theories of stigma

Erving Goffman (1986) was one of the first academics to examine stigma and his influential work on the management of “spoiled” identities paved the way for a dedicated focus on stigma by researchers. He conceptualises stigma as a “damaging mark” against an individual imposed and reinforced by society and identifies how discrepancies may emerge between the personal and public (or socially constructed) identities of those stigmatised. Goffman’s (1963: 4-5) analysis situates stigmatisation within three distinct spheres: bodily “abominations”, blemishes of moral character and tribal forms of stigma related to ethnicity, nationality or religion. He highlights several processes involved in the stigmatisation of an individual or group. These involve labelling or marking the individual or group (often in a simplistic or stereotypical fashion), drawing contrasts between labelled and non-labelled groups or individuals that results in differential outcomes between the two and ultimately, the loss of status among those who have been labelled. In addition to these criteria, Link and Phelan (2001) contend that a prerequisite for triggering stigma is the exertion of power by one group over another.

Although Goffman’s (1963) work is extensive, it notably does not extend to an analysis of how place can reproduce stigma in and of itself acting as a “blemish” on an individual or group’s identity (Wacquant, 2007).

Wacquant (2007) suggests place-based stigma operates similarly to that suggested by Goffman (1963), whereby structural, institutional and cultural mechanisms work to construct particular populations in a manner which exacerbates their disadvantage. In a spatial context, Wacquant (2007; 2008; 2016) asserts that stigmatised populations

are often consigned or “relegated” to low status neighbourhoods. This is usually observable in so-called “bounded” or penalised territories in inner-city or peripheral urban settings which become prejudicially tainted as sites of deprivation, decline and danger. The increasing polarisation evident in contemporary urban spaces serves only to exacerbate the stigma and marginalisation experienced by those on the periphery of society (McDonald, 1999; Warr, 2005).

Researchers agree that place-based stigma can interact with other dimensions of stigma such as socio-economic status and ethnicity (Peach, 1996; Wacquant, 2007; 2008; Wacquant *et al*, 2014; Slater & Anderson, 2012). Place can affect how these other dimensions of stigma operate as well as how individuals manage their stigmatised identity (Goffman, 1963; Kirkness, 2014; Graham *et al*, 2016; Knight *et al*, 2016). There is a growing consensus, however, that despite these interrelations, stigmatisation on the basis of place has become a distinct domain, separate from the three categories of stigma outlined in Goffman’s writing (Wacquant *et al*, 2014).

This is evidenced by the fact that in most cities particular neighbourhoods have gained notoriety as locations of criminal activity and drug dealing and the “ghetto” label has gained international currency (Peach, 1996; Slater & Anderson, 2012; Wacquant *et al*, 2014; Graham *et al*, 2016). Stigmatised neighbourhoods are differentiated from wider society in popular discourse and any perceived cultural differences amplified, while any particular challenges or problems experienced by residents are minimised or ignored. A fundamental distinction identified by Wacquant *et al* (2014) and others (Arthurson, 2001; 2004; Kallin & Slater, 2014) between place based stigma and the other

dimensions of stigma identified by Goffman (1963) is the often punitive measures states take against stigmatised neighbourhoods' spaces, for instance the demolition of "notorious" estates and their replacement with luxury dwellings (Arthurson, 2001; 2004; Kallin & Slater, 2014).

3.2 Social housing as a site of stigma

A view widespread in the research literature is that the residualisation of social housing in many western European countries in recent decades, often combined with the expansion of home ownership and the "normalisation" of this tenure as the one in which most people should aspire to live, has contributed to a situation in which social renting has come to be regarded as a "tenure of last resort" (Hastings, 2004; Jacobs & Flanagan, 2013). As a result social housing has become a prime site of stigmatisation (Hastings, 2004; Jacobs & Flanagan, 2013). Despite this, a dedicated focus on stigma in social housing is a relatively new addition to the research literature. Previously, discussions of place based stigma, its causes and manifestations have tended to focus on urban neighbourhoods in general, rather than on social rented neighbourhoods specifically (Power, 1997; Lupton, 2003; Hastings, 2004).

Hastings (2004) notes that discussions of the causes of stigmatisation of social housing neighbourhoods among policy makers and in the media often focuses, at times unintentionally, on pathological explanations which portray tenants as a "moral underclass". This moral underclass discourse serves to problematise particular social groups (Westergaard, 1992; Levitas, 1996). Estates with a higher proportion of social problems are more likely to experience intensified forms of public stigma as well as frustration from residents who cite local incidents of anti-social behaviour and crime as the causes of their area's tarnished image (Corcoran, 2014). The pervasiveness of this moral underclass discourse is demonstrated by Cole and Smith's (1996) analysis of an estate in York where a high proportion of lone parent residents was identified by local people as the root of its stigmatisation, despite the lack of evidence demonstrating an association between lone parenthood and deviant behaviour.



This neighbourhood is an example of how stigmatisation often involves the amplification of cultural differences and operates through an array of factors such as local history, media influences and entrenched myths and stereotypes (Cole & Smith, 1996; Wassenberg, 2004; Wacquant *et al*, 2014). Jacobs and Flanagan (2013) draw attention to the conflation of poverty with social housing as part of these pathological discourses in which all members of a lower socio-economic group, for example unemployed people, are perceived as social housing residents and vice versa. Such generalisations can contribute to complacency about stigma and a perception that the situation of social tenants results from poor life choices rather than the impact of social and economic inequality which impedes exit from poverty (Atkinson & Jacobs, 2010; Arthurson, 2012).

Alternative perspectives acknowledge these inequalities and link social housing stigma to social and economic structures (Atkinson & Jacobs, 2010; Arthurson, 2012; Wacquant *et al*, 2014). Other researchers link stigmatisation of social housing to governmental and public policy failures and call for a reform of social

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housing policy and management (Jacobs & Flanagan, 2013). In some cases, however, these types of stigma analyses echo the pathological analyses highlighted above. For

instance UK efforts to address stigmatisation of social housing have focused on reducing welfare dependency and eliminating anti-social behaviour. They are influenced by the belief that tenants need to be incentivised into taking up work and social housing tenants require higher levels of surveillance and policing than residents of other housing tenures (Jacobs & Flanagan, 2013).

3.3 Forms and causes of stigmatisation

In the research literature, drivers of stigma emanating from outside stigmatised neighbourhoods are often distinguished from those which arise from within – these are referred to as internal and external forms of stigmatisation respectively (Wacquant, 1996; Wacquant, 2007; Wacquant *et al*, 2014). A myriad actors who drive and shape stigma are also identified, including residents and public (housing, legal, leisure, education) and private (media, retail, property developers and other private employers) service providers (Dean & Hastings, 2000; Hastings, 2004; Wacquant *et al*, 2014)). These agents are instrumental in responding to, shaping and challenging social housing estates' public image.

In Hastings's (2004) study of three British estates, unfamiliarity with a particular neighbourhood did not deter non-residents from holding a stigmatised view of these neighbourhoods. Equally, in this and similar research (Dean & Hastings, 2000; Hastings, 2004), it is notable that although many external agents were responsible for shaping negative area reputations, few were engaged with activities actively attempting to challenge them (for instance through regeneration programmes or public image change strategies). Furthermore, evidence suggests that even where attempts to challenge stigma are in place, negative images can prove resistant to change, particularly in the

short term. This may in part be due to the persistent repetition of stigmatising rhetoric by external actors. Among these actors, particular attention has been devoted to the role of political and media agents in legitimising and reinforcing stigma (Dean & Hastings, 2000; Hastings, 2004; Devereux et al, 2011; Jacobs & Flanagan, 2013).

The perpetuation of spatial stigma through political discourse has been identified persistently in the research literature and can have significant ramifications for the ways in which residents of stigmatised areas are perceived by wider society and considered within policy decisions (Watt & Jacobs, 2000; Arthurson, 2001; 2004; Deacon, 2004; Garbin & Millington, 2012; Jacobs & Flanagan, 2013). Watt and Jacobs's (2000) research identified a persistent moral underclass discourse in British policy documentation aimed at combating urban decline. In a national strategy document addressing neighbourhood renewal, social tenants and the homeless population were contrasted negatively with owner-occupiers and private renters and were presumed to engage in risky or criminal behaviour. Arthurson (2001; 2004) identified a similar pattern in Australia where policy discussions centred on "problem" dwellings. Jacobs and Flanagan (2013) argue that policies like these designed to improve area reputation by "deconcentrating poverty" or promote "social mix" to improve area reputation, are rooted in assumptions around the inherently negative nature of social housing. These policies often involve demolishing social housing estates and replacing them with a wealthier populace (Arthurson, 2004; 2012).

Media representations of a particular estate or housing tenure have been found to exercise considerable influence on public perceptions to successfully reinforce stigmatising attitudes through the perpetuation of well-worn stereotypes (Hastings, 2004; Jacobs & Flanagan, 2013). Unsurprisingly, residents

of stigmatised neighbourhoods often resist these stereotypes but journalists and media managers have repeatedly told researchers they are responding to a desire for negative news stories and positive news stories rarely sell papers (Dean & Hastings, 2000; Hastings, 2004; Jacobs & Flanagan, 2013). Cohen (1980) calls this process "media amplification" whereby negative press about a particular neighbourhood is accentuated and repeated often to justify the derogatory accusations levelled at residents (Jacobs & Flanagan, 2013). Certain estates becoming synonymous with negative traits can also serve to simplify the reporting process from the journalist's perspective (Helleman & Wassenberg, 2004). In Garbin and Millington's (2012) study residents of a Paris *banlieue* (social rented suburb) described the discrepancies between how they portrayed their neighbourhood to journalists and how the area was eventually reported – inevitably in a more negative and controversial light. Although some positive news coverage of the British social housing estates was examined in Dean and Hastings's (2000) study, this was almost exclusively from small community-based media outlets and gained little traction outside the immediate locality.

Fictional representations of social housing are also identified as drivers of social housing stigmatisation. Arthurson's (2014) research examined the stereotypical and degrading portrayal of social housing tenants in a popular Australian television series. Social tenants who watched the programme demonstrated a comprehensive understanding of the ways in which these media-driven stereotypes operated and filtered into wider society. The opinions of private tenant and owner-occupier viewers, however, were informed to a far greater degree by televised depictions and were more likely to hold stigmatised perceptions of social housing tenants as a result (Arthurson, 2014). Among residents of stigmatised estates, there is often a

sense of extreme frustration at the portrayal of their neighbourhoods and many social tenants believe the media should take more responsibility for its depiction of certain groups and neighbourhoods (Garbin & Millington, 2012).

The police are another group identified in the research as reproducing stigma through the monitoring and on occasion harassment of residents of low-income housing estates to a much greater degree than residents of wealthier districts. In Garbin and Millington's (2012) research for example, police engaged in persistent identity checks and stop-and-searches of young people on the estate they studied in a manner seen by many as harassment. Treatment of residents by police highlighted in this research was paralleled by discrimination by other service providers (a finding borne out in many other studies, e.g. Dean & Hastings, 2000; Hastings, 2004; Warr, 2005; Garbin & Millington, 2012; Kirkness, 2014).

3.4 Implications and responses

Reutter *et al* (2009) have produced one of the most influential studies on the implications of stigmatisation of low income communities. Like Goffman (1963) they argue that stigma leads to inconsistencies between a person's perception of themselves (their actual identity) and their perception of how others see them (their "virtual identity"), the latter is usually less positive than the former. The discrepancy between personal and public identities is equally observable in the context of social housing estates, as Kirkness's (2014) analysis of the *banlieues* in France demonstrates. Garbin and Millington's (2012) research on UK social housing revealed that residents often reported an inability to escape from stigmatising perceptions and held the view that society as a whole was against them.

In response to these mixed emotions, stigmatised individuals have developed two broad categories of response: strategies of submission and strategies of resistance. For those who engage in submissive-type reactions, negative societal representations may be internalised; stigmatised identities projected onto others in the same community and stigmatised identity may inspire a retreat to the private or family sphere (Wacquant, 2008; Graham *et al*, 2016). For those experiencing internal forms of stigmatisation at the hands of fellow residents, as was the case in Arthurson's (2013) study, a common tactic was to distance themselves from those in the income strata immediately below them. An example of this was former social tenants (who had since become homeowners) making conscious efforts to differentiate themselves from current social tenants by making changes to the façade or front garden of their properties. In a similar vein, individuals who adopt a submissive response to stigmatisation may actively try to conceal the "spoiled" aspects of their identity by, for instance, changing their accent. These types of "self-monitoring" practices are a common tactic used by those experiencing stigma (Goffman, 1963) and at surface-level have been found to benefit the individuals engaged in them. For instance, Knight *et al*'s (2016) study of the LGBT community found high self-monitors (ie those who did not reveal their sexuality) were more likely to reap socio-economic rewards (such as being promoted at work) as a result of engaging in stigma minimising behaviours.

At the other end of the spectrum are those who actively resist their stigmatisation by defending their neighbourhood's reputation. As Hastings's (2004) research in three British social housing estates demonstrates, some residents were "normalisers" who viewed any problems in the locality (for example young people drinking in public spaces or higher than average rates of unemployment) as typical of any residential area, or as the result

of wider structural inequalities (such as a poor economic climate). This type of analysis was often accompanied by problematisation of the characteristics and behaviours of neighbouring, often affluent, areas (for instance, a poor sense of community). Those engaged in normalising behaviour came from both inside and outside the case study estates, but tended to be individuals with more detailed knowledge of the areas, such as professionals based locally (Hastings, 2004). Occasionally, strategies of resistance involve attempts to invert or “flaunt” stigmatised identities (Wacquant *et al*, 2014). However, this risks the stigma experienced by these communities as a whole intensifying and negative myths surrounding certain groups being perpetuated (Hastings, 2004).

These contrasting reactions are not necessarily mutually exclusive and researchers such as Kirkness (2014) have identified multiple responses which a single individual can have to their stigmatisation depending on the particular time and context. One example Wacquant *et al* (2014) mention is the case of a young person reported in Truong’s (2013) study who boasts about their estate’s dangerous reputation while simultaneously adopting self-monitoring strategies such as refusing to disclose their address on job applications for fear of discrimination (Graham *et al*, 2016). Likewise, Garbin and Millington (2012) found the persistent targeting of residents by police inspired them to express feelings of humiliation and shame, this in spite of their strong pride in their neighbourhood.

This indicates that even when social housing residents resist their stigmatisation it often leads them to limit their social networks (Cattell, 2001) which can impact negatively on their economic prospects and mental wellbeing (Warr, 2005; Keene & Padilla, 2014; Pereira & Queirós, 2014; Graham *et al*, 2016). Wacquant (1996) asserts that the experience

of being stigmatised can lead to a breakdown in community bonds within neighbourhoods and reduce residents’ capacity for collective action. Other research suggests, however, that the ties within outwardly stigmatised social housing estates are stronger than in privately owned neighbourhoods and that strong traditions foster neighbourhood reciprocity and mutual aid (Betancur, 2011; Garbin & Millington, 2012; August, 2014; McKenzie, 2015). The impact of tenure mixing measures, often employed to combat stigma, on community bonds in social housing estates is examined in Section 5.2 below.



4. Stigma and Irish Social Housing

Although a limited body of research exists on stigmatisation of social housing in Ireland, the evidence available echoes findings of the international research outlined above. The small size of the Irish social housing sector, the income related rents system employed, the buying of dwellings by higher income tenants, and the restricted supply meaning only the lowest income households gain access, results in a highly residualised sector. Many researchers suggest this has exacerbated stigmatisation (Fahey, 1999; Norris, 2015). Data on the socio-economic characteristics of social renting households set out in Table 3 below indicate that these arguments remain relevant. These data (generated from the Irish module of the 2009 and 2013 European Union Survey of Income and Living Conditions) demonstrate that the proportion of social renting households with equivalised incomes below 60 per cent of median was twice the rate of households living in private rented and owner occupied housing in 2013. This table also reveals that other socio-economics characteristics strongly associated with higher risk of poverty were also more common in the social rented sector. For instance, lone parent households were much more common in social housing than in other tenures and social renting household heads were more likely to have lower levels of education. Table 3 demonstrates that rates of low income, lone parenthood and low educational attainment among social renting household were marginally higher in 2009 – the high watermark of Ireland’s recent economic crisis – but these rates have declined marginally as the economy has begun to recover since 2013.

In many other European countries, the concentration of ethnic minority households in the social rented sector is considered a factor which accentuates stigmatisation. The data set out in Table 3, however, indicates that the proportion of social renting households headed by non-Irish citizens and

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people born abroad was low during both years under examination. The proportion of social renting tenants in these categories, however, did increase marginally between 2009 and 2013 which probably reflected the increased rates of inward migration from the late 1990s. This is likely to be a trend that continues if future rates of inward migration remain high and migrants apply for social housing.

National level data on the socio-economic characteristics of social housing tenants cannot be disaggregated into the regional and local levels because the sample size employed in the Irish module of the EU-SILC is too small. However there is strong evidence that, due to the impact of social housing policy and other factors, residualisation of the Irish social rented sector has operated in an uneven fashion and as a result some social rented neighbourhoods are more stigmatised than others. The longstanding policy of sales of social housing to tenants is a key driver of this uneven pattern of residualisation because tenants tend to buy homes in higher demand neighbourhoods, while the lower demand neighbourhoods remain in the social rented sector and are likely to be more stigmatised. These policy drivers of stigmatisation of some social rented neighbourhoods were compounded by socio-economic factors. For instance economic restructuring in the 1970s

Table 3
Income, Family Type, Nationality and
Education by Housing Tenure in Ireland, 2009-2013.

Socio-economic Characteristic		Owner Occupied		Private Renting (at Market Rates)		Social Housing	
		2009 %	2013 %	2009 %	2013 %	2009 %	2013 %
Income Below 60% of Equivalised Median Income		15.1	12.2	15.0	15.9	37.2	35.9
One Parent Family Households		3.9	2.6	12.9	14.6	20.5	20.3
Household Head is not an Irish Citizen		2.8	3.9	47.4	44.6	7.4	9.3
Household Head was not Born in Ireland		8.0	10.1	53.3	53.9	15.0	17.8
Highest Level of Education of Household Head	No Formal Education or Primary Education	29.4	23.2	9.8	7.2	44.9	32.3
	Lower Secondary	16.3	14.2	8.6	8.2	20.0	18.4
	Upper Secondary	17.4	16.5	20.1	23.7	13.0	16.8
	Third Level Degree or Above	21.2	19.5	35.3	25.0	7.3	9.6

Source: generated by the authors from the Irish module of the European Union Survey of Income and Living Conditions (EU-SILC).

Note: the category "owner occupied" includes owned outright and owned with a mortgage/tenant purchase scheme. The category "social housing" includes rented from a local authority and rented at below market price or rent free. In 2009 median equivalised income for Ireland was €22,578.54 and 60% of this median income was calculated as €13,547.12. The equivalent figures for 2013 are €19,355.12 and €11,613.07. In the Irish module of the 2009 and 2013 EU-SILC, there was no direct question concerning migrant/ethnic minority-headed households status, therefore the "nationality" and "country of birth" questions were used as the best proxy.

and 1980s and associated rise in long-term unemployment affected some regions and neighbourhoods more than others as did the heroin epidemic which emerged in Dublin in the 1980s (Fahey, 1999; Norris, 2014).

There is also significant evidence that the media has played a key role in perpetuating and intensifying stigmatisation of some social housing estates in Ireland, with particular housing estates persistently depicted negatively and stereotypically in local and national media outlets (Conway *et al*, 2009; Devereux *et al*, 2011). In their research on the Moyross social housing estate in Limerick City, Devereux *et al* (2011) noted the tendency for this and certain other social housing neighbourhoods to be used as media shorthand for danger and degradation in the context of an increasingly competitive and sensationalist media environment. Fictional sources of stigmatisation are also prevalent in the Irish social housing context (Bolger, 2008). This has contributed to the problem identified in Fahey's (ed) (1999) comprehensive study of Irish social housing, whereby the behaviour of a small section of residents is conflated with the characteristics of the tenure as a whole. Some research has been conducted into the role of internal stigmatisation in the context of Irish social housing. Both Fahey (1999) and Norris's (2014) research on the same seven social rented estates found very high levels of internal

differentiation within these neighbourhoods. Particularly in large estates, residents tended to have strongest bonds with their immediate neighbourhoods and had a more informed, fine grained perspective on the concentration of problems such as anti-social behaviour within their neighbourhood than outsiders. As a result, in residents' eyes at least, some parts of these large estates were more stigmatised than others.

...the sense of community and neighbourhood pride is extremely strong in many Irish social housing estates. As a result, some estates have actively resisted their stigma by using public image change strategies to promote local identities and provide an alternative narrative to dominant media rhetoric.

These and other studies of Irish social housing estates indicate that the sense of community and neighbourhood pride is extremely strong in many Irish social housing estates. As a result, some estates have actively resisted their stigma by using public image change strategies to promote local identities and



provide an alternative narrative to the dominant media rhetoric (Conway et al, 2009; Corcoran, 2014; Carnegie & Norris, 2015).



5. Combating Stigma in Social Housing

5.1 Built environment solutions

Refurbishment, reconstruction and redesign of the built environment is the most commonly used intervention to regenerate social housing estates. Obviously, intervention of this type is intended primarily to improve build quality and design of dwellings and public spaces in estates but regeneration strategies also commonly claim these measures can help reduce stigma.

However, most research on stigmatised social rented neighbourhoods indicates that design or construction quality is not a major contributor to this problem – implying it should not be central to solutions. There is ample evidence that high-rise social housing estates, particularly in peripheral locations unconnected to and therefore differentiated from surrounding neighbourhoods, are perceived negatively by outsiders (Helleman & Wassenberg, 2004; Wacquant, 2007). Following demolition of the Ballymun estate, however, no high-rise estates remain in the Irish social housing sector. More relevant to the Irish case is evidence that stigmatisation of social housing is exacerbated by design features which clearly distinguish between different tenures, for instance owner-occupied, local authority or housing association properties having different appearances, or private and social residents having separate entrances (Chaskin & Joseph, 2013). Tenants as well as other stakeholders largely believe that where practices of tenure mix are adopted, a design approach which makes it difficult to differentiate social from other housing tenures is beneficial in terms of reducing tenure-based stigma (Allen *et al*, 2005; Arthurson, 2013). Furthermore, in their study of regeneration in social housing estates, Hastings and Dean (2003) argue that the physical isolation of estates from the wider urban fabric is both a cause of stigmatisation and a barrier to reputational

change because outsiders are simply unaware of the transformation happening within the estate. Indeed most “outsiders” interviewed by Hastings and Dean reported that they had no reason to visit or pass through the estates in question and were therefore unaware of the improvements in physical infrastructure. As such, “isolated places need to be ‘joined up’ to the urban context. The key challenge is to persuade people to visit estates and spend sufficient time there to experience change for themselves” (Hastings & Dean, 2003: 181). Helleman and Wassenberg (2004) build on this finding in their research on the Bijlmermeer in Amsterdam by emphasising the crucial importance of surrounding infrastructure – such as good transport networks, commercial and public – in attracting outsiders into a previously stigmatised area, and increasing its “permeability” and therefore helping to improve its reputation.

Although most research found that the external stigmatisation of an estate was largely unaffected by adaptations to the built environment, in studies where social tenants themselves were asked about the physical changes to their estate, most spoke very positively about them. More generally, the improved quality of the built environment adds to residents’ feeling of leaving their stigmatised former estates behind and living in a desirable neighbourhood in which they can take greater pride in (McCormick *et al*, 2012). Thus, their perception of being stigmatised can be reduced.

More negatively some research has raised concerns about the impact of some built environment interventions applied to stigmatised estates. For instance, Arthurson’s (2001; 2004) research on Australia argued that rhetoric surrounding the negative attributes of a particular public housing estate resulted in a decision being taken to demolish the dwellings, despite their structurally

sound quality. Rather than regenerating a neighbourhood such interventions can destroy the existing community who often have to move out to facilitate the demolition and are rarely reinstated in their previous configuration (Norris & Hearne, 2016, highlight an instance of this in Ireland).

5.2 Tenure mixing solutions

From the 1970s researchers and policy makers began to pay increased attention to the residualisation of social housing and the contribution which large concentrations of social rented neighbourhoods played in creating spatial concentrations of poverty. A large number of studies was conducted which concluded that these concentrations of poor households can compound processes of social exclusion by generating additional problems known as “neighbourhood effects” (Musterd & Andersson, 2005; Priemus, 1998). From the perspective of the discussion at hand it is significant that stigma is one of the most commonly cited examples of a neighbourhood effect.

Policies to “deconcentrate poverty” or achieve “social mixing” emerged in the 1980s as a response to concerns about poor neighbourhoods and are now common across western Europe and the US. Due to the large size and increased residualisation of the social housing sector in western Europe, in these countries social mixing policies have focused mainly on this tenure and primarily involved mixing homeowners and private renters (who tend to have higher incomes) with social renters. Proponents of social mixing highlight a number of positive impacts. Such policies, it is argued, counteract the effects of high concentrations of poverty; replace disadvantaged neighbourhoods with safer, healthier and more cohesive communities; ensure low income households have access to

Proponents of social mixing argue that such policies counteract the effects of high concentrations of poverty; replace disadvantaged neighbourhoods with safer, healthier and more cohesive communities; ensure low income households have access to better commercial and social services, such as schools, as well as to the labour market; and combat or prevent stigma.

better commercial and social services, such as schools, as well as to the labour market; and combat or prevent stigma (Chaskin, 2013).

Most research on use of tenure mixing to combat stigma in social housing focuses on the implementation of this approach as part of broader demolition and regeneration projects. Most of these studies have concluded that increasing tenure mix as part of social housing regeneration projects has had some success in reducing external stigma (Arthurson, 2013; Martin & Watkinson, 2003; Beekman *et al*, 2001; Atkinson & Kintrea, 2000; Cormick *et al*, 2012). However research on social housing estate regeneration projects also demonstrates that, once established, stigmatised views of particular estates can be extremely difficult to shift (Cambridge Policy Consultants, 1999; Cole & Smith, 1996). Even where substantial change occurs in the built environment and in tenure mix of the neighbourhood, public attitudes may continue to associate a particular estate or area with crime, social disorder, drug use etc. This is true of the attitude of media professionals, but also of other significant actors such as estate agents who it is reasonable to assume would have a

greater awareness of changing neighbourhood dynamics than the general public (Gourlay, 2007; Hastings & Dean, 2003). This issue is discussed further below.

Tenure mixing seems to be much more effective in combating stigmatisation of social housing when applied to new developments. The research has found that social housing residents who live in neighbourhoods that were mixed tenure from the outset experience far less area-based stigma than that associated with traditional mono-tenure social housing developments containing high concentrations of social housing. The principal reason for this appears to be that from the outset these neighbourhoods are not regarded as social rented and are thus affected to a lesser degree by external stigmatisation (Arthurson 2013; Allen *et al*, 2005).

It is important to acknowledge, however, that most research on the positive impact of tenure mixing on external stigma is based on residents' own views and experiences (Arthurson, 2013; McCormick *et al* 2012; Chaskins, 2013). It can also be argued that such interventions do not tackle the stigmatisation of social housing *per se*, but instead deal with stigma by reducing the amount of social housing (McCormick *et al*, 2012; August, 2008; Joseph, 2008; Ruming *et al*, 2004).

A significant body of research has also found that social housing tenants in mixed tenure developments can experience intensified forms of internal stigma within their neighbourhood, particularly from non-social renting neighbours (McCormick *et al*, 2012; Arthurson, 2013; Ruming *et al*, 2004). Social housing tenants are often identified by other residents as the cause of any problems which arise regardless of evidence and can be excluded from decision-making processes in the community (Chaskin & Joseph, 2013). As a result, social housing

residents of such developments can feel more stigmatised within their estate but concurrently enjoy a less stigmatised reputation among the wider public. Interestingly, Arthurson's (2013) study found private renting residents of mixed income neighbourhoods encountered stigmatising attitudes on the part of middle-income owner-occupiers. Higher-income residents' views in this regard were strongly related to their proximity to low-income housing. Those living closer to stigmatised housing tended to report the mixed community in more negative terms (Arthurson, 2013).

The available research has not reached definitive conclusions on why and how these patterns of internal stigma develop, but it is reasonable to assume that owner occupiers who live in mixed tenure developments simply "import" prevailing stigmatised attitudes to social renters. These attitudes may be maintained by low levels of interaction between homeowners and social renting residents of mixed tenure estates. Atkinson and Kintrea's (2000) study of several mixed tenure communities found that owner occupiers tended to work and socialise outside their neighbourhood to a much greater extent than social housing residents. The latter tended to form close intra-neighbourhood bonds, but mainly with other social renters and did not tend to have friends or family who were owner occupiers in the same estate or neighbourhood. Housing managers may also stigmatise social housing residents in mixed tenure developments (Joseph, 2008; Graves, 2010), for example blaming them for any problems which arise or displaying dismissive attitudes towards them (Ruming *et al*, 2004). Further problems can emerge due to the imposition of stringent rules and regulations by management companies (for instance regarding "loitering" in public areas or children playing outside) which can affect social tenants in particular because they are less likely to be in employment and more



likely to have children and therefore to use the public areas more frequently (McCormick *et al*, 2012; August, 2014). There is also significant research indicating that use of different designs for social and private housing in mixed tenure neighbourhoods and separate entrances for private and social tenants amplifies the differences between tenure groups (McCormick *et al*, 2012; Chaskin & Joseph, 2013, Arthurson, 2013; August, 2014). Use of cohesive dwelling designs that ensure social and private dwellings cannot be identified had the opposite effect, however. Some evidence suggests that internal stigmatisation of social renting residents of mixed tenure estates can reduce with time. In addition Davison *et al*'s (2013) research on community opposition to affordable housing indicates that initial resistance on the part of homeowners, particularly among those with higher incomes, largely dissipated once the new development was completed and occupied.

5.3 Image change solutions

As noted above, most research on interventions to address stigmatisation of social housing examines regeneration projects.

Research on the role of image change and communications strategies to combat stigma is no exception in this regard. In most cases, strategies of this type are implemented as part of a wider set of regeneration interventions, such as demolition or refurbishment of the built environment or social and economic service provision. As a result, it is not always possible to distinguish between the impact of the image change and communications strategies in combating stigma and the impact of other elements of regeneration schemes.

While existing evidence suggests regeneration projects can lead to some improvements in the reputation and perception of estates and neighbourhoods (Gourlay, 2007; Hastings & Dean, 2003; Arthurson, 2010), as mentioned above, the dominant finding is that stigmatising reputations are stubborn and resistant to change despite substantial physical and social restructuring. This is borne out in Gourlay's (2007) in-depth case study research into two neighbourhoods in the city of Dundee, Scotland. Both neighbourhoods were originally built as part of slum clearance activities in the 1960s and were targeted with large regeneration projects in the early 2000s. The regeneration projects in each included widespread demolition, new build and

landscaping. Some sub-locations within the development were renamed due to particularly problematic reputations that had developed. Increased tenure mix also featured as part of the regeneration process. Gourlay (2007) found that even though residents tended to feel regeneration had had a significant impact in terms of improving the area, “outsiders” had not caught up with the new reality.

Research into urban regeneration projects in England reached similar conclusions. Hastings and Dean (2003) examined to what extent regeneration projects in three different estates had an impact on perceptions of non-residents. In two of the three estates, dedicated PR staff were employed. In addition to the substantial changes made to the built environment (which included tower block demolition), communications strategies were rolled out championing the regeneration process. These strategies mainly focused on local news and/or made use of promotional material such as flyers or newsletters, highlighting positive stories and emphasising the diversity (including tenure diversity) of the post-regeneration estate. Despite significant investment in built environment adaptations and dedicated communications strategies, the research found changes in how outsiders perceived the estates were limited. While some felt the “reality” of the estates had changed, even the more optimistic among them believed the reputations had not shifted significantly (Hastings & Dean, 2003). This was the case for non-residents and for key stakeholders such as local employers and real estate agents.

As with built environment changes, Hastings and Dean (2003) argue that one fundamental difficulty in altering public perception of social rented estates is the widespread ignorance among the wider population of the changes within them. For instance, they found estate agents were typically unaware that owner

occupied housing was available in the estates. Similarly, local employers tended to be aware of tower block demolition and some of the more clearly visible environmental changes, but much less so of social and economic regeneration or new community facilities and amenities developed under the regeneration project. They further emphasised that stigma itself presents barriers to image or reputational change and this should be taken into consideration in the design and implementation of regeneration strategies and other interventions. In their research on communications and other media strategies, Dean and Hastings (2000) made the following recommendations:

- > One individual should be responsible for image management within the regeneration project and should have a recognised role as such;
- > Image managers should encourage all stakeholders to recognise when their attitudes or perceptions are undermining regeneration by reproducing stigma;
- > Image managers can pursue an “altruistic strategy” which demonstrates the negative impact of stigma in order to encourage stakeholders to change;
- > Image managers can pursue a “self-interested” strategy which encourages stakeholders to become aware of how maintaining stigmatised views may be undermining their own interests (e.g. potential missed opportunities for estate agents or local employers);
- > Image managers should be aware that different groups will respond differently to different messages and design a diversified communications strategy accordingly.

5.4 Community and grassroots responses

The preceding discussion has focused on the role of social landlords and government in combating stigma of social housing but

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it is important to acknowledge that social housing residents often themselves engage in activity which reduces stigmatisation. These activities can be described as "grassroots" or "everyday" interventions and include any action taken by residents independently of relevant authorities or responsible agencies to challenge or ameliorate stigmatisation. Here it is important to recall that sociological work on the processes of stigmatisation emphasises that the internalisation of stigma is key. However, this should not be assumed to be a passive or inevitable process but rather something which may be negotiated, challenged and contested by stigmatised groups (Wacquant, 2007; Andrea Cornejo, 2012). Grassroots and everyday practices are thus expressive of the ongoing negotiation of stigma by social housing residents and the capacity and agency of residents to produce alternative identities and constructions of "their neighbourhood".

Palmer *et al* (2004) identify three such strategies in social housing estates in Australia. Firstly, residents may develop a sense of belonging to and pride in a sub-location within the estate which becomes "their little pocket". This area can be given a different designation from the general name of the estate or neighbourhood and residents can develop a sense of pride and belonging. While this may

appear a way of distancing from the estate rather than challenging stigmatisation, Palmer *et al* found that residents who engaged in this are often vocal advocates for the wider estate. Secondly, residents may take part in a wide variety of community and civic activities which "confound the stereotype of residents as uninvolved in their community" (p421). Thirdly, residents actively and explicitly challenge examples of stigma which they encounter on an everyday level, such as from friends and family outside the neighbourhood, employers, police etc. In most instances this occurs through one-on-one conversations, but Palmer *et al* also found examples of

residents independently organising responses to negative coverage in the national press. Andrea Cornejo's (2012) research on social housing suburbs in Santiago, Chile, found residents undertook activities and projects focused on public spaces, such as football tournaments, picnics and dances. These activities, primarily recreational and cultural, were designed to actively create a public and civic space within the neighbourhood which would both challenge outsider perceptions and foster neighbourhood pride and neighbourhood identity. These events also emphasised the community's heterogeneity and this was specifically emphasised to challenge how stigmatisation homogenises a community (that is, reducing the neighbourhood to simple stereotypes, such as drug dealers etc).

6. Stigma and Social Housing in Three Case Study Neighbourhoods

6.1 Perceptions and experiences of stigmatisation in the case study neighbourhoods

The research on the case study social housing estates revealed that many of their residents and managers interviewed agreed that the tenure is stigmatised in Ireland. Interviewees who held this view attributed this situation to the residualisation of social housing and negative media reporting and some suggested that stigmatisation had worsened after the recent economic crisis. However, the prevalence of this viewpoint varied significantly across the three case study estates – residents of one neighbourhood studied reported feeling significantly more stigmatised than residents of the other two. Reflecting the findings of the international research outlined above, the case studies revealed marked “hierarchies of stigma” within as well as between the estates examined. Some sub-districts of estates and some types of social housing seem to have a more negative reputation than others.

6.1.1 External Stigmatisation

Social housing was identified as a site of stigma – either directly or indirectly – by many social housing residents and housing professionals interviewed for this study. Respondents’ perceptions of the scale of this problem varied between the three case study estates, however, as did their experiences of the personal impact of this external stigmatisation.

Ballymun residents reported feeling more stigmatised than residents of the other estates examined for this study and they suggested that stigma had a particularly strong negative impact on their life chances. Longstanding residents of the Fatima Mansions estate also acknowledged that their community had had

a very negative public reputation in the past and acknowledged that, once established, this stigmatisation was difficult to shift and it remained an issue for this community. In their view, however, stigmatisation of Fatima Mansions decreased substantially following its regeneration during 2004-07. Several social housing residents of Clarion Quay did acknowledge that the social housing tenure was stigmatised in Ireland but these interviewees reported no negative reactions to stating Clarion Quay as their address and some suggested the opposite was the case – the address was viewed as prestigious by non-residents. Social renters from Clarion Quay argued that the complex’s mixed tenure nature coupled with its location in a mixed tenure neighbourhood helped mitigate risk of stigmatisation. Fatima Mansions residents agreed that the introduction of private housing during the estate’s regeneration and implementation of an image change strategy at this time helped to reduce its stigmatisation. The role of tenure mixing and image change strategies in combating stigmatisation of the case study neighbourhoods is discussed in more depth in Section 6.2 below.

There was a strong consensus among social housing residents of the three estates that stigmatisation of this tenure was linked to its residualisation. In many residents’ opinions the general public characterises them as work shy, exploiting the benefits system and that they live “rent free” or in “free houses”. In this vein one interviewee identified a perception that social housing residents were “all scroungers and drug addicts” and another said he welcomed the opportunity to meet non-social housing residents so they could see he “wasn’t the big bad wolf”. Many social housing residents interviewed expressed frustration about the prevalence of negative stereotypes of the sector and complained: “We’re all tarred with the one brush.”



Both social housing residents and housing managers interviewed identified the media as a significant contributor to perpetuation of these negative stereotypes to the extent that one interviewee said she no longer watched the news or read papers as she was tired of her tenure being misrepresented. Interviewees' descriptions of how social housing residents were portrayed in the media strongly echoed the "moral underclass discourse" highlighted in Section 3.3 above.

In this vein a community representative in Fatima Mansions noted that residents of adjacent social housing estates were "really upset about the comments" underneath the online version of a newspaper article on the estate. He claimed "...it was like everything you could imagine about the hatefulness towards social housing, towards people in social housing; that they're scum of the earth, they're scavengers. You know? It was horrible right, it was absolutely horrible." There was a strong view among Ballymun and Fatima Mansions residents that traditionally media sources did not report on positive events in these estates, whereas reporting amplified any negative event which occurred.

Some social housing residents suggested these overt forms of stigmatisation of social housing residents in general (as distinct from specific social rented estates) had worsened since the economic downturn and intensification of the housing crisis. While one interviewee felt the "crisis" discourse in the media and elsewhere had "mellowed" people's feelings on social housing, most argued that the economic crisis had only intensified the negative associations with this form of tenure and, as such, entrenched the divide between social renters and others, for example homeowners struggling to pay their mortgages. Clarion Quay residents, for example, suggested some private residents of their estate were hostile because they had paid inflated prices during the property bubble peak. Similarly, in Ballymun and Fatima Mansions both social housing residents and landlord representatives believed there was some bitterness, at least initially, on the part of private residents because they had paid "top price" for their homes and were contributing to service charges, so did not deserve to be met with vandalism, noise and untidiness on the estate. In this vein one social housing manager claimed:

"[The economic crisis] hasn't helped things. And I really do see why, because people have put a lot of money in and when you buy something, you take care of it better... [it's] certainly not the case in all tenancies, but in some people will come in, they'll throw their shoes outside the door...and they will show a certain amount of disregard towards the property and towards the block...You have people who've paid huge amounts of money and the value isn't there anymore and they're seeing this and it irks them."

When asked where they experienced these stigmatising attitudes, public services or institutions such as the Garda Síochána were not mentioned, but workplaces commonly were. Two residents reported hearing very negative and stigmatising remarks made about social housing residents in their workplaces. In one instance, an interviewee stated she had been hiding the fact that she was a social housing resident for over ten years in her place of work and claimed instead to live in the private rental sector – an impression facilitated by her address in a mixed tenure estate. In addition, a social housing resident in Ballymun reported that the practice of providing a false address when applying for a job was still prevalent in this neighbourhood.

The effects of external or address-based stigmatisation on the social residents who experienced it was significant. This was particularly evident among Ballymun residents where stigma was most acute in spite of its extensive (although at the time of writing, incomplete) regeneration. One interviewee, who formerly lived in social housing in Ballymun, articulated the strong sense of stigma she had attached to living in this area:

"...you've to work that extra bit harder to prove yourself because you do grow

up – it's growing up with, as you say, the stigma in areas like this is you grow up with that you're less than, that where you live is less than. And in truth it is...I remember Sinead O'Connor saying this thing of shame and eh guilt, do you know? But that – that shame and the guilt that people behave like that in your area or that you carry. So that most definitely carries with you and I – there's no way that's gone, that has to be still here. Cause the area has still got the name it has. So em yeah, I would think it still exists today I'd be very surprised if people are not lying about their own address on their CVs today or finding ways to navigate the rest of society so you fit in a bit better, or you get approval you know, so you grow up with that. It's difficult to shake it off."

A community development worker said the stigma associated with Ballymun was so deeply entrenched within residents' consciousness that it "... would be ingrained in the psyche out there. So it'd be you know. It's part of – it's part of the psychological make-up of people who – who would live in such places, a sense of being denied, a sense of being downtrodden."

6.1.2 Internal Stigmatisation

Reflecting the results of the international research on stigma in social housing, the case studies identified internal stigmatisation within the neighbourhoods examined but the operation of these "micro spatial hierarchies of stigma" was very complex and varied significantly between the three cases.

The research interviews indicate that internal stigmatisation was strongest in Fatima Mansions and to a lesser extent Clarion Quay, whereas it was mentioned by fewer interviewees in Ballymun. This may reflect the more limited scale of tenure mixing in

The effects of external or address-based stigmatisation on the social residents who experienced it was significant. This was particularly evident among Ballymun residents where stigma was most acute in spite of its extensive regeneration.

Ballymun where the private housing built as part of the regeneration scheme is clustered in one part of the neighbourhood (the main street development) and most social housing is in large mono-tenure developments. In Fatima Mansions, by contrast, a community development worker acknowledged: "Jesus, sure look, there's perceptions within the social housing itself. Like if you live in [specific part of estate] over there you'd kind of be going Jesus you live down there in such and such? Fucking awful bleeding place down there' so within the social housing, depends who's on the road." In Clarion Quay some social housing residents argued that the clustering of all social housing in two blocks in the estate had created "internal ghettos".

It is notable that this internal stigmatisation was most keenly felt by social housing residents and landlords. Some owner occupiers and private landlords who lived in Clarion Quay were interviewed for the research and the vast majority held no stigmatising views of social housing residents. However, interpreting their views in this regard is not a straightforward task. These interviewees for the most part were aware that they were moving into a mixed development when they originally moved to Clarion Quay, all of them as owner occupiers. As such, and as pointed out by one interviewee, they may be a "self-selecting" cohort to some extent.

They were also all participants in the board of management, and as such their views may not necessarily reflect those held by private residents in general. Most importantly, the interviewees were aware that Clúid Housing had commissioned research that was focused on combating stigma. Consequently, they may have been reluctant to state stigmatising views and during some interviews there was a sense that interviewees were choosing their words with care. In addition, all private residents expressed the view that the existence of two blocks of social housing units within the Clarion Quay development would likely detract from the value of their properties. One interviewee suggested that had he known the development was mixed tenure at the time he bought the property, the perceived impact on property values may have affected his choice to buy. Another interviewee reported being "cautioned" by the estate agent they dealt with in purchasing the house that it was a mixed development. One owner occupier acknowledged: "The presence of social housing would put a break on the increase in the value [of the dwelling]. I did think of that [when buying]." Some interviewees in this category also reported receiving "assurances" that the common areas and courtyard would not be open to social housing residents. Finally, private residents referred frequently to the different "cultures" of the private owners and renters and social housing residents. Several suggested that most social housing residents were originally from inner city flat complexes (although there appeared to be no basis to this belief) and that they had brought a particular culture with them. In this vein one interviewee suggested: "What you have is people moving from one area to another, and what is a socially acceptable norm to them is not a socially acceptable norm to others... there's a different way of thinking slightly. I think over time they will meld but it takes time for that to happen." For the most part, references to separate cultures were framed in

neutral terms and focused on how social housing residents interacted with public space and parented their children. The research on race and migration, however, reveals that negative attitudes towards minority groups have often been re-articulated in cultural terms in recent years, but this does not mean the underlying view of these minorities is not prejudicial.

This issue of the different “cultures” of different tenure groups was evident in all three estates dealt with in the research. In Ballymun, where the tenure diversity element was least evident, rhetoric surrounding social housing “norms” was often accompanied by comments related to the need to increase the take-up of private housing in the area. Implicit in these discussions was the idea that social tenants could be helped to emulate the values of their new middle-class neighbours and, in turn, identifying said values both as different and somehow superior. Examples included the notion that social tenants were dependent on the state, not as ambitious in terms of educational or career attainment and had less of an interest in their communities and the upkeep of their homes. Many interviewees were more neutral when speaking about differences, but commented on the stilted spending power of social residents and used this to justify the inclusion of more private housing, stating retail outlets (aside from pharmacies and betting shops) would be reluctant to move into the area otherwise. These perspectives and processes are reminiscent of the literature on assimilation which is prevalent in the field of migration research (e.g. Koopmans *et al*, 2005) and is found to have detrimental impacts on the individuals to which it is applied. However, unlike some of the US-based examples, in which public housing tenants were explicitly encouraged to adhere to particular cultural norms (for instance, by being restricted from barbecuing or being forced to attend parenting courses (McCormick *et al*, 2012; Chaskin & Joseph, 2013), few of these assumptions translate into specific policy decisions.

In Fatima Mansions and Ballymun, which both contained a mix of council and housing association provided social housing, there was some micro-spatial stigmatisation of the former category of social housing compared to the latter. In Fatima Mansions residents of Dublin City Council properties were perceived by some interviewees as having limited regard for their home and to be engaged in the most problematic behaviour on the estate. Interviewees attributed this situation to the local authority’s weak management standards rather than solely to the residents themselves. For instance, they alluded to the comprehensive vetting of applicants for housing carried out by housing associations and suggested that as a result they weren’t “letting anyone in”. This vetting process was seen as beneficial by some interviewees because it lessened the likelihood of anti-social behaviour and increased the number of “good” residents in the estate. Adherence to rules and regulations (around pets, hanging out washing on balconies, unsupervised children at play etc) was a central aspect of this, with some believing that council residents had become complacent in not following the rules. One block in Fatima Mansions was seen as the most problematic due to the large number of Dublin City Council properties it contained. Thus one interviewee suggested: “I don’t want to discriminate against anyone who’s living in [the block], but there’s a mind-set as well you know?” There was a perception among housing association staff and residents interviewed that neither the council nor its residents took as much care in maintaining their homes as Clúid residents and that common areas were going to “rack and ruin”

6.1.3 Intersecting Forms of Stigmatisation

While the majority of interviewees spoke about their experiences of stigmatisation predominantly in relation to tenure type and socio-economic status, there were

instances where intersecting forms of stigma emerged. Children – as is explored in greater depth at other stages of the report – were a controversial subject and at times a frustration with children on the estates was linked with negative attitudes towards lone parents, specifically lone mothers. This group was described by some interviewees (predominantly professionals working in the area) as being less responsible than their counterparts who were coupled. This intersected strongly with tenure-based stigma and connotations of lone parenthood with social housing residency. A minority of interviewees engaged in more direct negative stereotyping surrounding the number of children they had from different parents and their inability to parent effectively.

Issues of immigration and ethnicity operated in a slightly different manner and migrants were often conflated positively with a move to greater tenure diversity. In Ballymun for instance, some interviewees spoke of how new migrants to the area – mainly from eastern European and African communities – had higher aspirations for their families than people previously in the area and that this would improve longstanding residents' upward mobility. Equally, there was recognition that the integration of people from different communities could be improved in Ballymun. This often overlapped with discourses around integration between different tenures. Incidents of direct racism were less commonly spoken about, although some issues of internal discrimination were reported about the modular homes in Ballymun in which a number of foreign nationals have been housed. There was a sense of frustration among some residents that people from outside the country were being housed before longstanding Irish residents.

In Fatima Mansions – which like the surrounding Rialto area is home to a large

...some interviewees spoke of how new migrants to the area—mainly from eastern European and African communities—had higher aspirations for their families than people previously in the area and that this would improve longstanding residents' upward mobility.

Muslim population – second-hand instances of internal discrimination emerged in a few interviews (particularly male residents being derogatory towards Muslim women on the estate), but alongside the caveat that attitudes in the area were beginning to change. Several interviewees remarked that there was now a strong sense of integration between residents of different cultural backgrounds, particularly through activities relating to children (homework clubs, summer day trips etc). A limitation of this research is that all interviewees bar one were white Irish, so any reported instances of discrimination were second-hand rather than coming directly from the residents in question.

6.1.4 Residents' Responses to Stigmatisation

In the three case study estates, interviewees adopted a range of responses – submissive and resistant – to stigmatisation. These included practices of self-monitoring such as falsifying one's address (Ballymun) and failing to disclose one's tenure (Clarion Quay) to the normalising and distancing behaviour identified in the international research on stigma (see Section 3.5 above). These latter responses were evident among residents who defended their area by emphasising that any problems observed there (e.g. anti-social behaviour, vandalism) were characteristic of

most Irish estates, but were merely highlighted more in certain places. A small number also problematised wealthier areas (e.g. south Dublin suburbs like Foxrock) which they claimed lacked the same level of community and cultural facilities.

Where social residents experienced internal forms of stigma – primarily in Clarion Quay and Fatima Mansions – there is evidence that they responded by retreating to the family sphere. This was particularly evident in Clarion Quay, where one respondent went as far as to say that they and their partner had delayed having children because they did not want them growing up in what they perceived to be the estate’s negative atmosphere. Others reacted to this negative internal stigma by problematising the behaviour of those in other tenures; for instance remarking that private renters and owner-occupiers were unsociable and undermined community spirit.

6.2 Combating stigma in the case study neighbourhoods

6.2.1 Built Environment Solutions

As explained in Section 2, the built environments in Ballymun and Fatima Mansions have been radically overhauled in recent years as part of ambitious regeneration projects. This programme has been completed in the latter neighbourhood but in the former it is behind schedule; a number of low rise flat complexes await demolition and rebuilding as does the estate’s large shopping centre which has a poorly maintained appearance.

Ballymun and Fatima Mansions residents reported that their neighbourhoods’ new design did help reduce external stigma. In the former, the high-rise tower blocks had gained an infamous public reputation, residents argued, and were commonly identified as a

site of anti-social behaviour – a situation which worsened as the regeneration progressed and the number of void flats increased. Many of those interviewed in Ballymun viewed demolition of the flats as a positive factor in changing for the better external perceptions of the area. One respondent also commented that giving everyone “their own front door” increased the likelihood of a mixed populace coming to and remaining in Ballymun in future generations which they deemed conducive to the area’s economic development. The need to refurbish Dublin City Council houses, which surrounded Ballymun’s flat complexes but were not included in the regeneration scheme, was mentioned repeatedly by interviewees. In Fatima Mansions, they identified the redesigned estate’s reorganised street structure and a public square which increased permeability and opened the neighbourhood to the public as beneficial in reducing the stigma of the estate. Before its demolition Fatima Mansions was surrounded by railings which interviewees suggested created an atmosphere of being “walled in like a prison”. So the “opening up” of access to the estate following its redesign was viewed very positively by longstanding social housing residents and community activists.

The social housing residents and managers from Fatima Mansions and Ballymun who were interviewed for this study often identified the surrounding infrastructure – or lack thereof – as a significant influence on external perceptions of their neighbourhood. In Fatima Mansions, the Luas tramline was cited by some respondents as beneficial in linking the estate to the rest of the city but also in combating external stigmatisation of the estate by allowing commuters from outside the area to see the estate in its redeveloped form. The inclusion of a community centre, gym and crèche in the redeveloped estate was also seen as beneficial in drawing people from surrounding neighbourhoods into

Fatima Mansions and thereby improving their perceptions of it. In this vein one interviewee from a neighbourhood adjacent to Fatima Mansions praised the F2 Community Centre because:

“[Its] policy is very open and very outward looking. They’ve got mixed residents... so they’ve got quite a mixed resident pool and because they run it like a business, it feels a bit more that you’ve got a right to go in, you know? It feels open.”

6.2.2 Tenure Mixing Solutions

As explained in Section 2 above, efforts have been made to mix tenures and thereby the household incomes in all three of the case study estates. Part of the rationale for doing so is that tenure mixing helps to combat stigma (see Section 5.2). However, the different case study neighbourhoods experienced different levels of success in achieving tenure mixing in practice and, partially for this reason, the effectiveness of this strategy in combating external stigma varied. In addition, in some neighbourhoods tenure mixing amplified internal stigmatisation, but most interviewees agreed that the policy’s shortcomings in this regard were outweighed by its benefits.

Although tenure mixing was attempted in all three case-study neighbourhoods, in terms of achieving its primary objective of generating an income mix the policy was successful in only two. As mentioned in Section 2 above, due to its location in the operational area of the Dublin Docklands Development Authority, Clarion Quay was built as a mixed tenure development. The DDDA adopted a policy that 20 per cent of all new and refurbished residential developments in its operational area would be reserved for social housing. When Clarion Quay was constructed in 2002 Clúid Housing bought two blocks of

apartments (containing 37 units) for letting as social housing, the remaining eight apartment blocks in the estate (containing 148 dwellings) were sold on the open market, for top end prices at the time and about half these were owner occupied at the time of writing while the remainder were private rented (Norris, 2006). Therefore tenure mixing was successfully applied in this case and did enable the establishment of a mixed income community.

Tenure mixing was also achieved in Fatima Mansions, albeit not at the levels originally envisaged. A public private partnership (PPP) arrangement was employed to fund and implement the tenure mixing of this estate as part of a comprehensive regeneration of Fatima Mansions. Under this arrangement ownership of most of the site was transferred to a private developer who built private residential and commercial developments on this portion (renamed Herberton) and in return constructed replacement social rented housing for Dublin City Council on the remaining portion (Norris, 2014). At the time of writing about 60 per cent of the just under 600 occupied dwellings in the Fatima Mansions/Herberton complex were privately owned or rented. This is somewhat lower than the proportion of private dwellings originally planned for this neighbourhood and it reflects the developer’s difficulty in selling some private units on the market after the housing market crash which began in 2007 and the resultant sale of some of them to Clúid Housing for letting as social housing. However, the consensus among case study interviewees was that regeneration of Fatima Mansions has been successful in facilitating income mixing.

As part of Ballymun’s regeneration a proportion of land mainly around the main street was earmarked for private residential and commercial developments. Many of these developments had tax incentives attached

to stimulate their sales – primarily Section 23 tax incentives in the case of the residential developments but some “Section 50” tax incentives for construction of student housing were also made available (Kintrea & Muir 2009). The private housing built as part of the Ballymun redevelopment was overwhelmingly purchased by private landlords – in part because Section 23 tax incentives are more lucrative for purchasers in this category. Research by Kintrea and Muir (2009) found that these dwellings were initially let mainly to private renting households on rent supplement – a government support for rent costs only available to households dependent on benefits or participating in government labour market activation schemes. Thus with the Ballymun regeneration construction of private housing did little to attract higher income families into the neighbourhood. Although the government subsequently took action to limit the availability of rent supplement in Ballymun, the consensus among those interviewed for this research was that these private dwellings are still let overwhelmingly to low income households. The 2011 census indicates that the proportion of social rented housing in Ballymun has declined in recent years – to just below 50% of the population (Central Statistics Office, 2011). Interviewees argued, however, that in addition to low income private renting households, the remaining private households in this neighbourhood were primarily former social housing residents who had purchased their dwellings from Dublin City Council and therefore did not have incomes substantially above the median in this neighbourhood. Thus one community worker based in Ballymun claimed during the interviews conducted for the case study research: “I personally don’t see that diversity. Even in the voices I hear here – they’re Ballymun voices.”

Primarily due to its lack of success in facilitating income mixing, the social housing

residents and housing managers interviewed for the Ballymun case study were almost unanimous in their view that in this case tenure mixing had had limited impact on combating external stigmatisation. Despite other estate regeneration interventions having a positive impact on reducing stigma, some interviewees stressed that improving the tenure mix and therefore the income mix was vital for the external image of the neighbourhood to improve further. In this vein a community worker based in Ballymun argued:

“It needs private housing, it needs income – income-supported housing as opposed to social welfare-supported housing. Otherwise, the-the lack of – you’re only increasing the amount of people with no jobs, you’re only increasing the amount of people requiring social services, you’re only increasing the amount of people who may not em look after – know how to look after their children or their young people as well as they might. So that – like as well as providing for the economic development of the place, you also need people to go and buy houses who have a vested interest in where they live.”

Some interviewee residents, however, took issue with the notion that private housing was necessary to make their area more “successful”. This was articulated most strongly in resident frustration at the ban on rent supplement claimants from living in Ballymun put in place to increase the area’s income profile, and in rejection of the idea that particular “norms” distinguished social tenants from those residing in private housing. For instance, some refuted the idea that they did not take pride in their area or have ambitions in terms of careers and schooling. One resident challenged the notion of more private housing being required to draw businesses into the area, asserting that their spending

power was the same as a homeowner paying off a mortgage.

In contrast, interviewees from Clarion Quay and Fatima Mansions where tenure mixing and income mixing had been achieved successfully were more positive about its contribution to combating external stigmatisation. Social housing residents in Clarion Quay perceived that their address did provide a certain amount of social status. Clarion Quay is a particularly prestigious address as it is located in the heart of Dublin's business district and the estate achieved top end sale prices on its initial sale. One interviewee, when asked how he felt people perceived his address, responded with a laugh, "people think I'm loaded". Two other interviewees, a couple, felt that people were impressed when they told them their address. Some residents used the Clarion Quay address to enable them to negotiate the stigmatisation of the social housing tenure. As mentioned above, one resident had hidden the fact that she was a social housing resident from her colleagues and her address facilitated this secret. A retired couple reported that their adult children deliberately used their parents' address on job applications. Despite these examples, however, the interviews did not find that residents in Clarion Quay perceived the absence of address-based stigma as a tangible benefit. Most social housing residents did not suggest that they benefited from their somewhat prestigious address when asked directly and did not mention that they were proud of their address and the district they lived in. As a new development Clarion Quay has not experienced the kind of longstanding, address-based stigma seen in Fatima Mansions. The case study research on the latter estate revealed a widespread view among residents that stigmatisation of this neighbourhood had reduced as a result of the regeneration scheme. Although this was attributed primarily to the increased permeability of the estate following its

redesign, improved transport links and proximity to the local hospital, as well as to the media campaign to showcase the area in a more positive light, the tenure mix was deemed to have played a role in improving the neighbourhood's external image.

While tenure mixing appears to have helped to reduce the external stigmatisation of social housing residents in Clarion Quay and Fatima Mansions, it created challenges at neighbourhood level. At the less serious end of the spectrum in both neighbourhoods research interviews revealed that the level of interaction between private and social housing residents was limited – which raises questions about the cohesion of these communities. More worryingly there was some conflict between private and social housing residents on some issues, particularly in Clarion Quay and between residents of Dublin City Council and housing association provided social housing in the two other case study neighbourhoods – indicating that tenure mixing may contribute to the development of internal stigmatisation within neighbourhoods.

None of the Clarion Quay private residents interviewed reported ever being inside the home of any of their social renting neighbours, nor did they know any of the social housing residents by name. When questioned about this, the private residents did not appear to find this strange or noteworthy. One couple interviewed had a number of friends or friendly acquaintances within their block, but otherwise the private residents interviewed for this study did not appear to have a great deal of contact with any other residents. In contrast, social housing residents had significant contact with each other, knew the other social residents by name and appeared to find their limited contact with private residents odd. Some were not concerned about this but others expressed dissatisfaction with what they described as "apartment living". One interviewee, for

example, stated that he would very much rather live in the neighbourhood which he grew up in (a nearby working class community) as there was much greater community there. He contrasted this with Clarion Quay where there was very little community spirit. The same interviewee gave the example of a community activity day organised by the resident caretaker for several years but not a single private resident would join in the community activities. A number of social housing residents also reported the experience of having private residents not holding open the gate into the development to facilitate other people entering close behind or deliberately closing it.

Following the regeneration and tenure mixing of Fatima Mansions interaction between private and social residents has also been limited, although some interviewees from this neighbourhood suggested the situation was improving. One respondent for instance talked about the initial difficulties for some pre-existing social residents to adapting to the idea of having to “share” the estate with private residents and expressed the view that this had mostly dissipated. The gym, crèche and playground – provided as part of the neighbourhood’s regeneration and in very high demand – were commonly cited as spaces which enabled more interaction between residents of different tenure types. There was also a perception among many interviewees that private residents were more likely to be in employment and therefore out all day than their social housing neighbours, which reduced the opportunity for interaction. This one social housing manager suggested: “It’s different lifestyles as well and it’s hard to get everyone sympathising with each other.” Private renters were identified as a much more transient population than would traditionally have been the norm in this neighbourhood which also reduced community cohesion. There was still a strong culture of social

housing residents (including Dublin City Council and housing association residents) dropping into each other’s homes for a visit and this in part reflected the strong community spirit that had characterised the estate before its regeneration. One social housing resident explained that this strong community spirit was part of what had attracted her to Fatima Mansions. Another long-standing social housing resident, however, said the community spirit was weaker post-development and tenure mixing:

“It’s so quiet and you don’t see anybody, whereas in the flats the balcony culture was a big, big thing. Cause no matter what time of the day or night you stood out on your balcony [before regeneration of the estate], there was always someone to talk to so a little bit in the houses they lost that a little bit... You miss it. That balcony culture.”

In Clarion Quay the lack of integration between social and private housing residents was more entrenched and manifested itself in a sense of division between the two groups and some conflict, albeit primarily focused on a single issue. The terms “us” and “them” were used to describe interactions between social and private residents by a number of interviewees. Others suggested that “there’s a divide”; “they/we are segregated” and “it’s an internal ghetto” etc. These sentiments were expressed by both private and social housing residents. Most but not all social housing residents reported experiencing some level of prejudice, stereotyping and stigmatisation from private residents.

The conflict between social renting and private owners and renters in Clarion Quay related almost entirely to use of the courtyard in the centre of the apartment block which included an extensive grassed area surrounded by smaller paved areas and

a commercial crèche on the ground floor of one of the social housing blocks with its own self-contained play area backing out into the courtyard. All apartment blocks face into this development and some residents use it to access their apartments. Because social housing and private housing are separated into different blocks, the courtyard area is one of the few common areas shared and used by all residents. From the outset the social housing residents in Clarion Quay were made aware, by Clúid Housing, that the courtyard area was not a play area for children. According to one private resident interviewed for this study, when they purchased their apartment the estate agent assured them that the courtyard would not serve as a play area and indeed that the courtyard was only for private residents. At some point, the rules appear to have changed such that supervised play on the paved area only is now permitted.

However, the research interviews and the researchers' site visits indicate that children commonly engage in unsupervised play in the paved areas of the courtyard. From an early stage in the life of the development, private residents raised concerns about children playing in the courtyard. These complaints focused primarily on noise levels and "nuisance" in the sense of children's play perhaps obstructing the walkways, lack of supervision by parents and the play continuing until late in the evening. Less commonly concerns have been raised about children engaging in dangerous play, such as climbing high walls and getting into the car park area. These issues were primarily raised at the estate management company AGMs (that is, the committee of owners of the development) or with the management agent (the private company appointed by the owners to manage the common areas of the estate) and through these channels were passed on to relevant Clúid Housing staff.



There were noticeable differences in how social housing and private residents perceived and experienced this issue. Private residents viewed the common areas as a visual or aesthetic amenity rather than as a space to use for activities. They also viewed unsupervised play as *de facto* problematic and raised questions about parenting approaches and concerns about child safety. They were very concerned about noise levels. According to some private residents interviewed, these issues were a serious cause for concern. One interviewee said it had led to owner occupiers leaving the development altogether and landlords struggling to retain residents. It is important to note that during the interviews private residents did not articulate these issues in terms which stigmatised social housing residents – rather, as mentioned above, they were framed in terms of a kind of "culture clash". Social housing residents, they believed, had a different culture in terms of parenting in particular which clashed with private residents' norms. Some private residents suggested it would take time for social housing residents to adopt their norms.

Social housing residents in Clarion Quay had a very different interpretation of these events. The majority of these interviewees believed it was not only normal but inevitable that children would play in the courtyard and to think otherwise was not realistic. They viewed the common areas as a space which could and

should be used. Most social housing residents believed it was normal that there would be noise and activity in the courtyard and found it difficult to understand the level of complaints being made about activities that they viewed as natural and inevitable. As such, social housing residents interpreted these complaints from private residents about this issue as a form of stigmatisation.

Management issues have also played a role in maintaining this conflict. One important factor here is that private residents felt responsibility for the issue of children and play lay with Clúid Housing and with the "social housing blocks". Private residents, along with the private management agency, have sometimes sought to adopt a security-led approach to this issue. This has included installing CCTV cameras in some common areas and the car park. The rationale for this, according to private residents interviewed, was to obtain proof for various allegations against social housing residents. Some management agency staff have also been tasked with monitoring and sometimes intervening in children's use of the common areas. Although some of these staff are very well regarded by social housing residents and private residents alike, it is not unsurprising that these monitoring activities and particularly their focus on small children have compounded the negative feelings of social housing residents.

However, Clúid staff sat on the management committee for Clarion Quay and made an important contribution to mitigating this conflict. The private residents interviewed for this study reported that Clúid representatives acted as very strong advocates for social housing residents on the committee. Second, the intervention of Clúid representatives was key to ensuring that issues and complaints were not framed in stigmatising terms. For example, where complaints were raised around a particular issue with social housing residents being blamed, Clúid representatives were able

to challenge when those cases were not based on any evidence other than an assumption that social housing residents were to blame. Finally, Clúid representatives were seen to be active and forthright in engaging with issues, which helped to ensure they did not build up or "fester".

In Clarion Quay and Fatima Mansions the design of the built environment played a key role in discouraging integration of the private renting and home owning residents with their social renting neighbourhoods and enabling conflict between them. Although social housing residents in Clarion Quay were extremely satisfied with the design, quality and maintenance of their apartments, and this was clearly a source of satisfaction and pride for them, they raised concerns about the design of the common areas in the estate. The courtyard in the centre is long and narrow and surrounded by apartments on all sides. Numerous interviewees suggested this area was "like a canyon" in the sense that sound was amplified within it which increased tensions around the noise generated by children playing. The sound proofing of the apartments themselves was also considered poor by many interviewees, again exacerbating tensions in some instances. In both Fatima Mansions and Clarion Quay concerns were raised about the clustering of the social rented dwellings into a small number of locations in the estates which interviewees argued impeded integration between residents living in different tenures. Both the social renting and private housing residents of the former estate described the clustering of all social housing into two blocks in this estate as a form of "segregation". These interviewees highlighted two negative effects of this arrangement. First, it meant that social housing residents could be easily distinguished from private residents. Second, and more importantly, interviewees experienced the physical segregation as having a powerful

symbolic effect in terms of dividing the two cohorts of residents. Residents generally expressed the view that a greater integration of social rented and privately owned units in the estate would be far more desirable. Although the lack of interaction between social and private housing residents in Fatima Mansions was less problematic, interviewees from this estate expressed frustration that there hadn't been a "proper mix" in terms of the co-location of social and private housing. Social housing managers also informed interviewers that other mixed tenure estates where private and social residents were more interspersed were far less problematic in terms of stigma as residents could build relationships with one another in a situation where their tenure was less evident. They advocated for this approach to be applied across mixed tenure estates in spite of the greater practicality, from a social housing management perspective, of segregated dwellings.

In addition to the physical separation of private and social housing, social housing residents in Clarion Quay identified other design features of the development that were stigmatising. For example, the social housing blocks are at the back of the development, furthest away from the River Liffey and facing onto the Luas tracks. In addition, some units overlooked a noisy pub (subsequently closed). They also complained about the lack of designated car parking spaces for their apartments and pointed out that, since the Luas tracks had been installed at the back of the estate, on-street parking was not available either. Social housing residents perceived this as implying that because they were in social housing they would have no need of a car or could not afford one, and this was not only somewhat discriminating but also directly stigmatising. This sense of being pushed to the back of the development and "hidden" from the main street and Luas line was also a concern for social housing residents

during initial stages of the Fatima Mansions development. However, when an independent architect was brought in to meet residents, they provided an alternative rationale for placing the largest concentration of social housing at the back of the development (e.g. safety in terms of children being away from the main road and Luas tracks, easy access to the shops in Rialto) which, in the opinions of those interviewed, helped to change residents' perceptions. Conversely in Fatima Mansions the lack of obvious boundaries between different tenure types (e.g. gates) and the availability of communal play facilities used by all households helped to integrate the different tenures. In this vein a local community worker argued:

"I really do believe mixed development's important. But mixed development, and the design of mixed development's critical. Like there's the private yeah. But the private's not designed where there's a big gate. Does anybody see a gate?"

As mentioned above there were also minor divisions between different categories of social housing residents, specifically between those housed by housing associations and those housed by local authorities in the case study estates. These were related primarily to the different standards of management and maintenance services provided by different social landlords rather than by the characteristics of resident households. In Ballymun for instance a housing association resident interviewed for this study said the houses managed by Dublin City Council were not kept to the same standards as those of the housing association she rented from. As a result, people living in council properties may become stigmatised:

"What Dublin City Council seem to neglect is again, if you have a family that don't have a lot of money or an elderly

family that's left in their house, and they can't decorate the outside of their house, their house has been left on its own... it can make the area look down, it can isolate that house because people think 'oh god, they must be rough that live there' or whatever else like... ...They [housing association] would be acting as if they were a private tenant-a private landlord, do you know what I mean? And I think if DCC took on that kind of a role, areas wouldn't look rough... you can see the difference between the houses [provided by housing associations and the Council]... ...they [Dublin City Council] allow the anti-social parts to happen as well."

Some interviewees in Fatima Mansions acknowledged that particular streets or "pockets" of the area were problematic. One apartment block was seen as most problematic in this regard and this was attributed to it containing high numbers of Dublin City Council properties. Interviewees perceived that some Dublin City Council residents or the Council itself did not take the same level of care over their properties as housing association residents or private owners or renters and that the common areas in this block were let go to "rack and ruin". Dublin City Council's inability to provide the same level of investment in their properties due to a lack of resources was mentioned by one interviewee in Ballymun, who said that in their view housing associations should become more central in the delivery of new housing.

Another view was that anti-social behaviour had become tolerated as the norm in this part of the estate with people not even bothering to report minor incidents. This was in contrast to more mixed parts of the estate where there was an excessive level of complaints by some private residents. To avert these problems, one housing association manager spoke of the

importance of trying to get "good" people into the estate by closely vetting applicants. This approach was supported by several social housing residents interviewed one of whom told the researchers: "It's really good. They're not just giving them [housing association properties] out to anyone."

6.2.3 Image Change Solutions

In addition to the efforts to combat external stigma by refurbishing and rebuilding of built environment and tenure mixing which were examined above, both Ballymun and Fatima Mansions were subject to additional interventions aimed at changing their image. These interventions involved:



- > Provision of arts and recreational infrastructure (such as the gym and F2 Centre in Fatima Mansions and the Axis cultural and community centre in Ballymun) intended to encourage non-residents to come to the estate to use these services and get to appreciate the positive changes to these neighbourhoods achieved as part of the regeneration.
- > Large-scale public events (usually revolving around the arts) aimed to challenge negative stereotypes of these neighbourhoods and inform the general public of their positive attributes.
- > Media campaigns with the same objective as the public events.
- > Changing the name of a section of Fatima Mansions to Herberton.

Clarion Quay is a newer development not significantly externally stigmatised, consequently these types of strategies were not deemed necessary there.

The impact of these image change strategies on the external stigmatisation of Fatima Mansions and Ballymun is obviously difficult to disaggregate from the impact of the built environment refurbishment and tenure mixing strategies concurrently applied to these neighbourhoods. Furthermore interviewees from both estates expressed different views on the achievements of image change strategies. Social housing managers interviewed as part of the Fatima Mansions case study were less optimistic in this regard than estate residents for instance. However the majority view among those interviewed for the Fatima Mansions case study was that the external image of this neighbourhood had significantly improved in recent years, primarily due to major rebuilding and redesign of the built environment and the application of tenure mixing, but that image change strategies had also had a very positive contribution. In Ballymun, by contrast, the

overwhelming feeling among interviewees was that the very positive and innovative programme of arts and cultural events was inadequate in improving the neighbourhood's image in the absence of effective tenure mixing and the completion of the programme of built environment rebuilding and redesign.

Ballymun interviewees repeatedly mentioned the idea of making the estate a "destination" for outside visitors, and having the right local infrastructure was deemed crucial to this. The Axis cultural and community space was cited by most respondents as a core agent in combating the area's external stigma and encouraging the wider Dublin public to visit Ballymun. For instance, one interviewee spoke about how the centre (specifically the theatre, which hosts local, national and international productions) had helped to alter media perceptions of the estate. She talked about how positive it was now to see Ballymun mentioned in the theatre listings of national newspapers rather than being associated by journalists merely as a site of crime and anti-social behaviour. Another interviewee was hopeful about the educational rediscovery project due to open in early 2017 and will be the biggest of its kind in the EU, stating that it too could help to alter perceptions of the area and attract people to Ballymun. The nearby IKEA was also mentioned as something which brought people from outside into the locality but views were mixed as to its actual impact on perceptions of the area. Neighbouring Dublin City University was not considered to have played a great role in the area's image and was seen as symbolically, if not physically, distant from Ballymun.

On the whole, however, there was frustration at the estate's lack of infrastructure with the Axis centre currently being the primary facility where the community and wider public gather. Specifically most respondents mentioned the lack of a proper shopping centre (the old town

centre has only one or two trading shops) and poor transport links, both due to be improved substantially as part of the area's regeneration. The shopping centre in particular was a bone of contention the lack of which was seen as a barrier by many to cultivating a successful "destination Ballymun".

As mentioned above, following its redevelopment part of the Fatima Mansions flat complex (the section with the private and housing association dwellings) underwent a name change and is now referred to as Herberton by housing providers and newer residents. Different interviewees referred to the estate as either "Fatima Mansions" or "Herberton" along these lines and the Luas stop has the name Fatima Mansions. The use of name change to combat stigma evoked strong and conflicting responses from interviewees. One housing association representative suggested the name change had succeeded in removing some stigma attached to the estate with prospective residents from younger generations not holding the same negative perceptions about it. The implementation and PR surrounding the name change were deemed poor, and the Luas stop and part of the estate continuing to be named Fatima Mansions was seen by this interviewee to complicate things. Many of the estate's longstanding social housing residents disagreed and were reluctant to let go of the old name. Indeed, at time of writing they were resisting plans to rename the Luas stop. One interviewee stated that as the wider public generally viewed the regeneration project it would not make sense to change the name and it was something longstanding residents could hold onto and be proud of. At the same time, almost all respondents acknowledged that the old Fatima Mansions name was associated with a significant degree of stigma which not only affected how the estate was viewed in the wider public (one respondent spoke of their anxiety

when they heard they would be working in the old Fatima Mansions estate) but also invoked a contradictory reaction in residents. One community representative from Fatima Mansions summarised these mixed feelings as follows:

"The big thing was the name. The name itself – Fatima – raises stigma. And that was a big source of debate in here... particularly in relation to people who live here, who were proud of being from Fatima. And then people who felt stigmatised by it – whether it was in terms of seeking employment or – just ashamed you know?"

Similar experiences were reported in Ballymun where, despite an acknowledgment of the intense stigma associated with the name of the estate, people felt a deep sense of pride and attachment to the place. When asked if they thought changing the name would remove any stigma, a former Ballymun resident was adamant it would do more harm than good and cited an example of the upset caused when a decision was taken to rename the adjacent street formerly known Ballymun Avenue to Glasnevin Avenue. In their view: "... it was real, real discrimination and real kind of putting a – putting literally a boundary, a very concrete boundary. So em, I don't think changing the name – I think that would be offensive to do that."

One common criticism of large-scale image change projects is that by attempting to attract outsiders into a given area, they end up alienating – and in turn further stigmatising – the local population (e.g. Ward, 2003; Boland, 2010). There appeared to be some element of this in Ballymun, particularly during the period following the Axis centre's establishment and during its conception (despite residents themselves lobbying for an arts and community facility).

In talking about the construction of the building, one member of the local arts community explained:

“They wanted to have two buildings – a community building and an arts building, I used to think that was very funny, but they could only have one. And then they thought they might have two entrances – I thought that was just fantastic, do you know what I mean? And – I had the idea that there’d only be one receptionist and on – if you came in that door she’d behave as if you were a community person and if you came in this door, she’d behave as if you were an arts person. And – and this whole nonsense began to unfold in my head of how you could bring these things together.”

Although extensive steps were taken to involve local people in the cultural life of the centre through the production of music theatre and other artwork which reflects local issues (most notably Dermot Bolger’s Ballymun trilogy) as well as offering a range of cultural activities for locals to get involved in (such as dance classes, writing workshops, etc), one local resident told researchers that the divide persisted.

“I think for some people, [Axis] had a huge role, there’s other people it didn’t touch at all and today still wouldn’t come in here d’you know what I mean? So I-I think a lot of people that come here, I come here quite a bit to see plays, they’re people from outside Ballymun d’you know what I mean? They’re people from outside.”

In Fatima Mansion’s community centre (which hosted a range of arts-based as well as employment and other services), the opposite was the case. There appeared to be some reluctance from private residents to get

In Ballymun, despite an acknowledgment of the intense stigma associated with the name of the estate, people feel a deep sense of pride and attachment to the place.

involved in the activities of the community centre and a perception that the space was reserved for social housing residents. One respondent described this as being a form of stigma, despite extensive interaction with communities from outside Fatima Mansions. This finding reflects the results of the international research on mixed tenure neighbourhoods which indicates that private residents socialise more outside of their estate than within it (Atkinson & Kintrea, 2000).

In both Ballymun and Fatima Mansions, residents emerged as core actors in lobbying for and engaging in cultural and media activities attempting to portray new narratives for these neighbourhoods. In Fatima Mansions in particular the local community engaged in strategies aimed at combating the area’s stigmatisation. In addition to highlighting the spirit of local community through cultural events and festivals, engaging with the media to confound negative stereotypes was deemed crucial to combating external stigmatisation. The media strategy, most active at the initial stages of the Fatima Mansions regeneration, involved community representatives from the estate undergoing intensive media training with a national communications company, which focused on residents “controlling the message” and directly challenging negative portrayals in national media outlets. In this sense, community representatives became what Hastings and Dean (2003) refer to as “image managers” and pursued altruistic and self-interest strategies – on the one hand

emphasising the difficulties involved in living in Fatima Mansions pre-regeneration and countering negative stereotypes, while on the other highlighting that the estate's social regeneration was in the interests of the wider public. The strategy was deemed successful by community representatives, one of whom contrasted Fatima Mansions with nearby social rented estates where the media management was poor and implied that this contributed to residents of the latter experiencing more acute stigmatisation. When asked about Fatima Mansions' public image strategy, one social housing manager was sceptical of the area's engagement in "media blackouts" to control the repetition of negative news stories. The respondent stated that although they could see the rationale behind it, they did not see it as the most effective means of dealing with problems and that prospective residents had the right to know what was actually happening in the area.

Ballymun too had examples of community driven responses to combating stigma. As in Fatima Mansions, these were largely focused on large-scale community events – such as the Other World Hallowe'en Festival – which attempts to draw people in from across the city and, according to one community representative, had in itself helped to challenge some of the area's address-based stigma. One interviewee said people initially sceptical of attending the festival due to Ballymun's reputation as an "unsafe" space now brought their families along every year to see the fireworks. While interviewees suggested the provision of cultural facilities and events did help to reduce

the external stigma in Ballymun, as predicted in the literature on stigma, its reputation has proved resistant to change (Hastings & Dean, 2003). As mentioned above, in Ballymun's case this reflects the failure to complete the estate's tenure mixing and rebuilding, but it also reflects that plans to establish Ballymun as an arts and culture destination have not yet been fully realised.



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7. Conclusions and Policy Implication

This report has drawn on a review of the international research, analysis of survey data on the socio-economic characteristics of social renting households and case studies of three social housing estates to examine the scale and significance of stigma in Ireland's social housing sector and identify the most effective solutions where it occurs. This final section sets out the study's key findings and identifies the implications of the research for policy on the provision, management and regeneration of social housing.

7.1 Conclusions

Both the international research reviewed in this study and the evidence garnered from research on three case study estates in Dublin indicates that the social housing tenure is a stigmatised one in Ireland. The vast majority of the social housing residents and landlords interviewed for this study thought that the tenure was associated in the public mind with high levels of welfare dependency and low levels of labour market participation. In their view the stigmatisation of the sector has increased because it has contracted in size in recent decades and focused increasingly on housing low income and benefit dependent households and its stigma is often reinforced by negative media reporting.

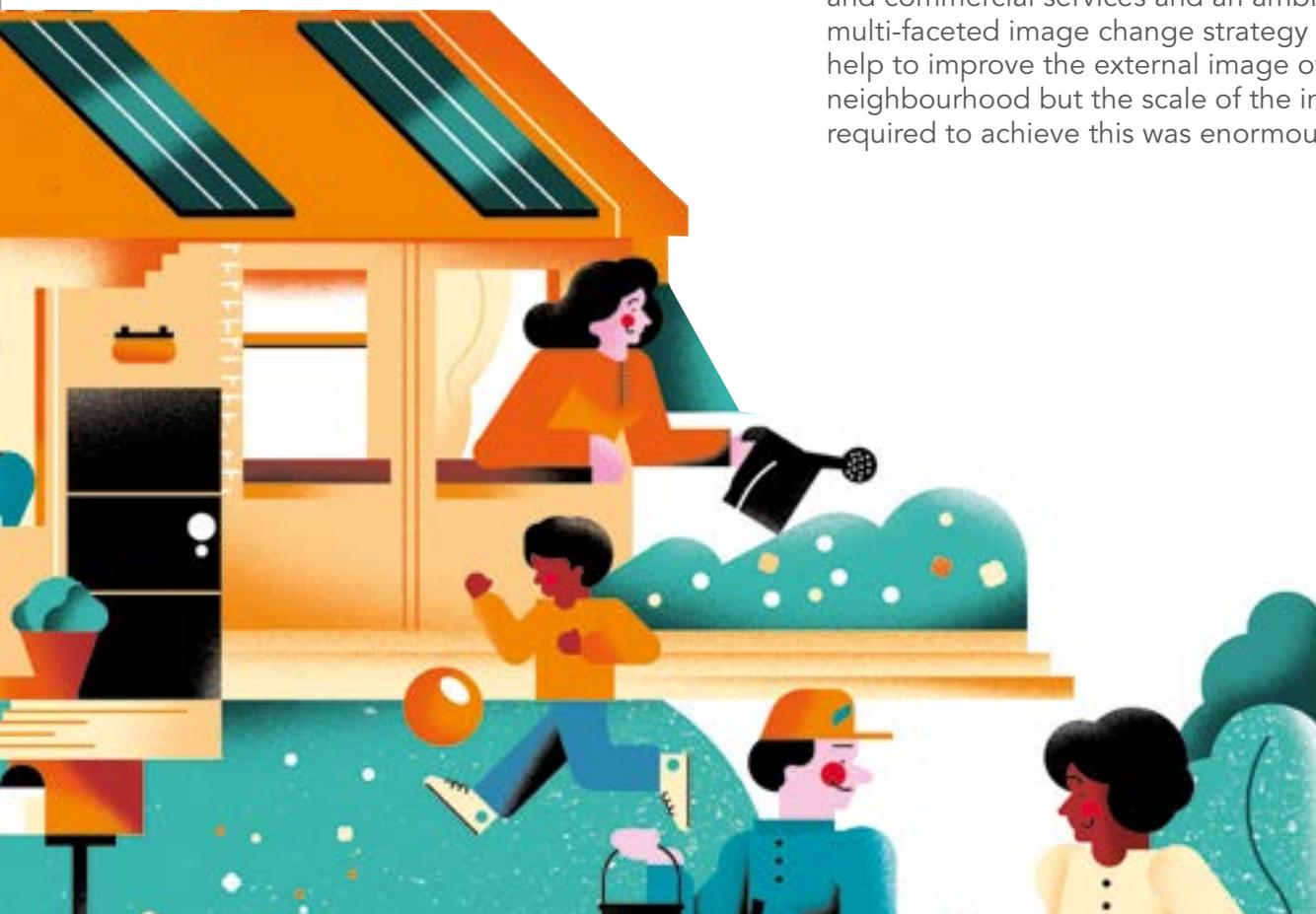
The analysis of survey data on the socio-economic characteristics of social renting households set out in Section 2 above confirms that social housing residents are more likely to be lone parents and have lower incomes than the Irish population at large. This profile reflects of course the fundamental and very valuable purpose of social housing which is providing affordable accommodation for low income households; but it is likely to increase the risk that the tenure and its residents are externally stigmatised. When measured in these terms, residualisation of

the social housing sector fell slightly between 2009 and 2014 implying that its stigmatisation decreased too. However this analysis also revealed that, by western European standards, a low proportion of Irish social housing residents are from a migrant background but this category expanded between 2009 and 2014. Concentration of migrant households in social housing in other western European countries is associated with stigmatisation of the tenure and this may prove to be the case in Ireland.

Stigmatisation of the social housing tenure as a whole does not mean that all social rented neighbourhoods in Ireland are stigmatised however. Research on this issue indicates that the vast majority of social rented neighbourhoods are successful, settled communities in high demand among housing applicants (Fahey, 1999; Norris, 2014). Among the case study estates examined Clarion Quay stands out as a neighbourhood which includes significant numbers of social rented dwellings but is not externally stigmatised. This is an example of the benefits of co-locating home owner and private renting households alongside social housing. The international research and the case study research on Clarion Quay indicate that mixed tenure neighbourhoods such as this one are significantly less likely to be stigmatised than mono-tenure social housing neighbourhoods. Therefore preventing stigma is a key benefit of measures, such as Part V of the Planning and Development Act, 2000, that enable social housing delivery in mixed tenure developments and tenure mixing should be adopted as part of strategies to regenerate existing social housing neighbourhoods. The case study research on Clarion Quay and on Fatima Mansions, which was also subject to tenure mixing interventions as part of its regeneration, demonstrates this strategy can create challenges at the neighbourhood level however, because mixed tenure communities

are less cohesive than solely social rented neighbourhoods and conflict can arise between social renters and households living in private housing. Although the macro level benefits of tenure mixing in terms of improved external neighbourhood reputation outweigh the micro level risks in terms of intra neighbourhood divisions between households in different tenures, the case study research suggests the designers and managers of mixed tenure neighbourhoods should pay more attention to preventing the latter. Strategies for achieving this are examined in Section 7.2 below.

Another important reason for using strategies such as tenure mixing to prevent new social housing estates from becoming stigmatised is that, once these neighbourhoods gain a negative external reputation, it is likely to prove very challenging to shift. This was evident in Ballymun, which was also examined in the case study research, and according to the residents interviewed maintains a stigmatised public image despite efforts to address this via an ambitious (but at the time of writing incomplete) regeneration scheme. The case of Fatima Mansions also demonstrates that stigmatised external reputations can be changed but this requires significant effort. In this case the demolition, rebuilding and design of the estates, the introduction of private housing and commercial services and an ambitious, multi-faceted image change strategy did help to improve the external image of this neighbourhood but the scale of the investment required to achieve this was enormous.



7.2 Policy implications

This research on scale and impact of stigma and Irish social housing and the possible responses has implications for social housing policy and also for practice in relation to the design and management of social housing estates and regeneration schemes.

In relation to social housing policy a key issue arising from this study is the tenure's stigmatised nature and the likelihood that this problem will worsen in coming years. In addition stigma has a negative impact on the life chances of residents of social housing neighbourhoods therefore action should be taken to combat this problem.

Ensuring that, as far as possible, new social housing is provided in mixed tenure developments would make an important contribution to preventing the stigmatisation of social housing neighbourhoods. The design and management of mixed tenure neighbourhoods, however, needs to be carefully considered to ensure the segregation of social rented and home owner/private renting communities does not arise within these developments. This research indicates that the following design and management strategies would help prevent micro-spatial segregation within mixed tenure communities:

- > There was a very strong sense from interviews with residents of the case study estates that a physical separation between tenure types was undesirable and led to strong feelings of "us and them". While some interviewees felt the response to this was to have 100% social housing developments (ie not tenure mixing) most felt the dispersal of social housing units across the development, rather than its concentration in one area, would have led to better outcomes.
- > Mixed tenure developments should be designed to produce a sense of equality

for residents. For example, social housing should not be located in the least desirable part of the development nor should private residents have access to amenities, such as car parking spaces, that are unavailable to their social renting neighbours. From the point of view of stigma, inequality at the level of design embeds the dynamics of stigmatisation into the built environment at neighbourhood level with lasting impacts.

- > Acoustics and the quality of sound proofing of apartments were of concern in the Clarion Quay estate. This is of course a problem not confined to mixed tenure development, but it is likely to create additional problems in mixed tenure developments that are likely to house a more diverse population than mono-tenure estates.
- > For this reason, the provision and design of common areas and play areas are particularly important considerations in mixed tenure developments. Such developments include a more diverse range of household types and therefore must be able to accommodate diverse uses of public space. This is particularly important for children and play and as such these needs should be catered for appropriately. Suitably designed and located play facilities and common areas should thus be considered at the outset and throughout the development's design phase and life.
- > The community centres traditionally provided in mono-tenure social housing estates may not be effective in facilitating the interaction of households living in private and social rented dwellings in mixed tenure estates as they can be perceived as solely the preserve of social housing residents. Community buildings that provide a wider range of services such as crèches and gym as well as space for community events are likely to be more successful in encouraging the integration of mixed tenure communities.

- > Equally, it is beyond the remit of community centres to deal with complex problems on estates (particularly those relating to crime and substance misuse), especially when considering the needs of teenagers and young adults. Other community-based buildings – such as gyms and retail facilities – provide important outlets for young people to work and socialise and can contribute to breaking patterns of anti-social behaviour. In Ballymun, the loss of a buoyant shopping centre has prevented people from spending and working locally in the area. While the Axis has played a role in providing employment, more is needed in terms of local facilities.
 - > Social housing allocation decisions are also crucial to avoiding conflict in mixed tenure neighbourhoods. In Clarion Quay the conflict over children of social housing residents playing in the open area at the estate's centre might have been avoided had a larger number of social rented dwellings been let to households without children. In this case the size of the social rented dwellings meant this was not possible in this neighbourhood but where social landlords are involved in the design phase of mixed tenure estates they would request that they are allocated a variety of dwelling sizes to facilitate their allocation to a range of household types and sizes.
 - > In Clarion Quay the existence of a management company representing owners of all dwellings in the estate which appointed a managing agent to manage communal areas created some tension. Clúid Housing staff managed this situation effectively but this case demonstrates that these management arrangements, a legal requirement under the Multi-Unit Developments Act, 2011, have the potential to exacerbate divisions in mixed tenure neighbourhoods.
 - > When mixed tenure estates contain a mix of housing association and local authority provided social housing in the same development, differences in management and maintenance standards between these different types of social landlords can accentuate divisions in the community.
- As mentioned above, if social housing neighbourhoods gain a stigmatised reputation, changing this is likely to prove difficult, but the case study research carried out for this report indicates this is not an impossible task. Fatima Mansions residents said their estate's public image had significantly improved following its regeneration in the mid-2000s. Interviewees suggested the introduction of private housing and housing association provided dwellings as part of the redevelopment has played a key role in stigma reduction. In addition, in this case redesign aspects of the public space and the provision of new local services implemented as part of the estate regeneration helped to combat stigma. For example, the design of the neighbourhood around public streets and a square which encourage members of the public to walk or drive through, and the provision of the F2 Centre, a gym and crèche which gave residents of surrounding neighbourhoods a further reason to visit Fatima Mansions were seen as key to combating stigma. The impact of these efforts to increase the "permeability" of the neighbourhood was reinforced by improvements to the local transport infrastructure, specifically the provision of a Luas stop adjacent to the estate which increased the volume of commuters and other visitors passing through the neighbourhood and thereby further mitigated its stigma. A media management strategy implemented by local community groups also helped combat stigmatisation although their experience confirms the findings of the international research which demonstrates it is difficult to

challenge negative media reporting of social housing neighbourhoods.

An innovative programme of community arts and cultural events was part of the Fatima Mansions regeneration but most participants were social housing residents. Thus, although these events were useful in terms of promoting community development within the social renting community in the estate they were less useful in promoting links between social renting and homeowner or private renting households or combating the external stigma of the estate. In Ballymun, by contrast, the partial completion of the regeneration programme and the failure to introduce a significant volume of higher income households into the estate via tenure mixing impeded efforts to improve the estate's stigmatised external image. However in this case the work of the Axis Centre particularly in running arts and culture events did help improve the neighbourhood's external image by assisting in making it a destination for arts events on Dublin's northside.

To address stigma the names of social housing estates are often changed as part of regeneration schemes. This was done partially in Fatima Mansions because only the estate's private housing section adopted the new name (Herberton) while the Dublin City Council provided social housing continued to use Fatima Mansions. The consensus among those interviewed during the case study research on Fatima Mansions was that this measure had little or no impact on reducing the estate's external stigmatisation. This was in part because it was not fully retitled and in part because new residents who moved to Fatima Mansions post-regeneration and the general public were well aware of its history. In addition longstanding residents opposed the name change because they felt this would eradicate the memory of the many positive aspects of their community and its history.

...the work of the Axis Centre particularly in running arts and culture events did help to improve the neighbourhood's external image by helping to make it a destination for arts events on Dublin's northside.



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Appendix

Schedule of Interview Questions Employed in the Case Study Research

Follow-up questions/prompts in italics
Administration (5 minutes)

- > Introduction
- > Reiterate purpose of research
- > Provide information and consent forms and give the interviewee an opportunity to ask any questions they may have
- > Check how much time the interviewee is prepared to spare

Opening phase (5-10 minutes)

Q1. Would you be able to tell me a bit about the local area (*e.g. length of time you have been here, your role within the estate – if applicable, what local services are available*)

Q2. Could you speak about what, if any, you think are the main problems in the area?
Experiences of stigma (10-15 minutes)

Q3. How do you think [estate] is perceived by the Irish public?

- > *Why do you think this is?*
- > *Is this different from how residents perceive it?*

Q4. In your experience, have residents experienced discrimination on the basis of where they live?

- > *If so, could you provide an example of this?*
- > *How did they respond?*

Q5. In your opinion, do the media play a role in shaping how [estate] is represented?

Q6. Have perceptions of [estate] changed over time?

Responses to stigma (15-20 minutes)

Q7. Could you talk about some of the changes you have noticed as part of [estate's] regeneration?

Built environment

Q8. How has the built environment changed over the course of the regeneration?

Q9. What have the advantages and disadvantages of these changes been?

Q10. In your opinion, has changing the design/name of the estate altered public perceptions of [estate]?

- > *Why/why not?*
- > *Has it altered perceptions of [estate] amongst residents?*
- > *Why/why not?*

Tenure diversification

Q11. What are your opinions on the introduction of tenure mix/private housing to [estate]?

Q12. What have been the advantages and disadvantages of this approach?

Q13. In your opinion, has changing the tenure profile of/increasing the amount of social housing in [estate] altered public perceptions of it?

- > *Why/why not?*
- > *Has it altered perceptions of [estate] amongst residents?*
- > *Why/why not?*

Public image change strategies

Q14. During the regeneration or now, have you noticed any attempts to change the image of [estate] in media or other campaigns?

> *If so could you speak about these?*

Q15. In your view, how is local art and culture to this process? *(E.g. does the presence of cultural centres, artistic events attempt to change the public image of [estate]?)*

Q16. What have been the advantages and disadvantages of this approach?

Q17. In your opinion, have cultural events and/or image change strategies altered public perceptions of [estate]?

- > Why/why not?
- > Has it altered perceptions of [estate] amongst residents?
- > Why/why not?

Q18. Are there any of the three approaches (built environment changes, tenure mix and public image strategies) which you believe are more effective in improving perceptions of [estate]?

> If so, why?

Closing questions (5 minutes)

Q19. Would you like to clarify or expand on anything you've said?

Q20. Is there anything else that you would like to cover before the interview concludes?

Administration (5 minutes)

- > Ask the interviewee to nominate prospective interviewees and provide information sheets if applicable
- > Thank the interviewee for their time and contribution

Notes

